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THE
H I S T O R Y
OF THE
R E I G N
OF
HENRY THE SECOND,
AND OF
RICHARD and JOHN, his SONS;

With the EVENTS of the Period, from 1154 to 1216.

In which the Character of THOMAS A BECKET is vindicated
from the Attacks of GEORGE LORD LYTTETON.

Ut nihil nimie, nihil nisi verè dicatur.

WIL. MALM.

By the Rev. JOSEPH BERINGTON.

· V O L U M E II. ·

B A S I L:

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MDCCXCIII.

THE
HISTORICAL
OF THE
REIGN
OF
HENRY THE SECOND
AND OF

RICHARD and JOHN HIS SONS

With the EXTRACTS of a French History
In which the Character of the Kings is
from the Anglo-Norman History

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M.D.C.C.C.

By the Rev. JOSEPH BERRINGTON

VOLUME II

Part II
LONDON
M.D.C.C.C.

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B O O K V.

P A R T I.

THE

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R E I G N
O F
K I N G H E N R Y T H E S E C O N D .

B O O K I I I .

Henry is afflicted, and sends ambassadors to the pope.—Invasion of Ireland.—It submits to Henry.—He is reconciled to Rome.—View of affairs on the continent.—Rebellion of Henry's sons.—Progress of the war.—Henry visits the tomb of Becket.—The Scottish king is taken, and the rebellion in England suppressed.—The siege of Rouen, which is followed by a general peace.—Miscellaneous occurrences.—Frederic defeated by the Lombards, puts an end to the schism.—The Vaudois or Albigenses.—Third council of Lateran.—Events in England.—In France and Germany.—Other occurrences.—Death of the young king.—Independence of the Lombards, and other

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events. — Ambassadors from Jerusalem. — Prince John goes to Ireland. — Conduct of Frederic and the popes. — The detention of Adelais excites hostilities. — Battle of Tiberias, and loss of Jerusalem. — Preparations for a general crusade. — Hostilities in France. — Henry dies. — Sketch of his character.

BOOK

III.

1171.

Henry is afflicted, and sends ambassadors to the pope.

HENRY was in Normandy, celebrating the christmas in the castle of Bure, and busied with his council in affairs of general concern, when the fatal news arrived. Having perceived, indeed, that the four gentlemen suddenly left his court, he had taken precautions to prevent their violence; and de Humet, his Norman justiciary, with proper instructions, had followed them to England. Their dispatch eluded all precaution, and the blow was stricken^{*}. — He heard the news with horror, and for many days, in gloom and consternation, expressed the wildest grief. But it was necessary, in the pressing moment, not to be inactive. Two of his chaplains waited on the monks of Canterbury, in their master's name, expressing his abhorrence of the murder,

^{*} L. v. ep. 79. Imag. hist. an. 1171.

detailing his grief, pleading his innocence, and begging their prayers in atonement of the crime, which his intemperate expressions, he feared, might have occasioned. "The king," they concluded, "bears no resentment against the dead; let the body be honorably interred".

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A solemn embassy was then sent to the Roman pontiff, at the head of which was the bishop of Worcester. But the friends to the deceased primate had been more active. Two priests, who had seen him expire, calling at the French court, took letters from Louis, from the earl of Blois, and two from his brother, the archbishop of Sens, and with them hastened into Italy. The letters, written in the true spirit of enthusiasm, demanded vengeance against Henry; they spoke of Becket as of God's martyr; and they more than intimated, that miracles were already worked at his tomb².—Through many difficulties the royal embassy reached Sienna, whence four of the company were dispatched to wait on his holiness, at Frascati. Alexander refused to see them. Henry, however, had friends among the cardinals, by whose interest an interview was procured. Arduous was the task to excul-

² Gest. post. mort. c. 1.

³ Ep. 78. 80, 81, 82.

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BOOK pate their master, when guilt was so apparent,
III. and when the general voice called for justice;
1171. nor could they effect it. The privileges of the church, and the dignity of the Roman see, of which Becket had been legate, were all involved. The English ministers saw reason to despond, but they were not idle, for the fatal day, the Thursday before easter, approached, when it was customary to denounce ecclesiastical censures. In these censures, it was said, his holiness was immutably fixed to include Henry and all his dominions. Thus alarmed, and advised by their friends in the sacred college, the ministers notified to the pope, that they were empowered to declare, on oath, that the king would submit to his commands, and that himself, in person, would swear the same. On the day, they so much dreaded, they took this oath; and Alexander was content, by a general sentence, to excommunicate the murderers of Becket, and all who *advised*, or *abetted*, or *assented* to, their crime*.

Soon after easter, came the other ambassadors, who had remained at Sienna, and admitted to audience, they pleaded their master's cause. But Alexander seemed resolved to punish. They entreated, therefore, they implored the aid of the

* Ep. 83, 84.

cardinals, and they invigorated that aid, it is said, by profuse donations; when the pope finally consented to send legates, “who might see and know the king’s humility.” — Thus were matters mitigated, the thunder was suspended, and it did not seem, that measures of any violence would be used, till the legates, who were not yet named, should come into Normandy’. — The ambassadors returned.

Henry did not wait their return; but hearing what the pontiff’s intentions were, he would not expose himself, so soon, to the wily arts of his Italian emissaries, which he had often experienced; and sailed to England. The ports he ordered to be guarded, and all passengers to be searched, that no letters of interdict might reach him’. — Passing near Winchester, he visited its venerable bishop, who was near his end, and who, with much severity, called him to account for the late unhappy incident. Five days after he died, having possessed the see of Winchester more than forty years. The uncommon character of Henry de Blois, and the events of his life, would form an episode of much

^s Ep. 83, 84.

^e Gerv. 1171.

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B O O K entertainment; but the press of various business
III. forbids the digression.

1171. And now an object of vast magnitude engrossed the thoughts of Henry. It was the conquest of a kingdom, nature's fairest island; which, once, in arts, in science, in commerce, and in arms, shall threaten rivalship to England, when a sister's love, uniting all their interests, may call to them the admiration of surrounding nations. I speak of Ireland, to enter which he now prepared; and the busy reflections of the people, and his own melancholy, averted from the death of Becket, were, for a time, absorbed in the splendor of this new achievement. It was the month of August.

**Invasion of
Ireland.**

Soon after his accession to the throne, under what pretence, I know not, Henry had meditated this expedition; and to veil the rapacious scheme, he had procured a bull from Rome, empowering him to seize the devoted land, as a part of the rightful demesne of St. Peter: "for all the islands," said the pope, "belong to him," The ridiculous pretension was founded, it seems, on a supposed donation of Constantine, which the criticism of the age had not then discovered to be spurious. But to reform the ways of that fallen people, by extending among them the christian faith, by enlarging the bounds

of the church, and by securing to the see of Rome a penny from every house, was the ostensible motive, as the bull declares, which would sanctify the measure'.—The description which historians, too partial, doubtless, to the English interest, or biassed by exaggerated tales, have left us of the barbarous manners of the Irish, of their vices, and of the want of every internal resource, whereby governments are upheld, exhibits the wildest chaos. Immersed in indolence, say they, not to labor they deemed supreme delight, and freedom from restraint was the only treasure which they valued. The gifts of nature to Ireland were excellent; her own acquisitions were detestable^a. So spoke her enemies. Yet, but a few centuries before, from certain documents we know, what that island was. It was the seat of science, the seminary of learning, and the resort of those, whom the noblest views could animate. Thither many retired from England, and they were received with open arms. The Irish maintained them; they gave them books; they became their masters. To them nations were indebted for the light of christianity; and in many countries, of which

^a Baron. an. 1159. Hist. of Abeil. Vol. ii. p. 182.

^b Giral. Camb. Topograph. Hibern.

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they were the apostles, they founded convents, diffusing abroad the spirit of genuine virtue, dispelling the shades of ignorance, and becoming, what is most noble in human achievements, the real friends to man⁹.

As succinctly as may be, I shall detail the events of this conquest. — Ireland, at the times I am describing, was composed of five principal sovereignties, Leinster, Munster, Meath, Ulster, and Connaught, over which, with a power rather nominal, presided a prince, whom they called their monarch. This was Roderic O'Connor, king of Connaught. Though, by law, the jurisdiction of the inferior kings was subjected to the sceptre of the monarch; by it they were seldom controuled, and they were the constant rivals of his greatness. In the five realms, besides, were many inferior chiefs, who held in their clans an independent sway. Anarchy, dissensions, and the horrors of eternal war, frustrated every attempt, which some patriots had made to unite the jarring elements of government. Within was weakness: and as the circumstance excited the rapacity of the native chieftains, so did it invite the attacks of foreign adventurers.

⁹ Beda, l. 3 et passim.

Dermod Mac Morrogh, king of Leinster, by his licentious tyranny, had excited the general odium; when a confederacy was formed against him, which invaded his territories, and expelled him the kingdom. He retired to Henry, whom he found in Aquitaine, and laying before him his many grievances, he entreated his assistance, and promised, if restored by him to the throne of his ancestors, that he would hold it in vassalage, under the crown of England. The alluring offer was accepted; but as the king, then engaged in difficulties, could not himself embark in the enterprize, he only gave to Dermod letters-patent, whereby his subjects were licensed to aid the Irish prince, in the recovery of his dominions¹⁰.

Dermod came to Bristol. Richard de Clare, surnamed Strongbow, earl of Strigul, whom profuse expenses had reduced to indigence, was the first adventurer, whom the liberal offers of the prince engaged in the enterprize. He promised him, besides lands and riches, that he should marry his daughter, and be declared heir to his kingdom of Leinster. Richard, in return, was to aid him with a powerful body of forces. Soon afterwards, Dermod, that he might be nearer to

¹⁰ Giral. Camb. Hiber. Expug. c. 1.

BOOK III. 1171. his own country, went to St. David's. Here two other noblemen, Maurice Fitzgerald and Robert Fitzstephen, sons of Nesta, once mistress to Henry I. promised him their assistance; with which being satisfied, he secretly retired to Ireland, and hiding himself within the walls of a convent, during winter, by the unnoticed exertions of his friends, prepared all things for the coming of his English allies¹¹.

Fitzstephen landed first with thirty knights, sixty men at arms, and three hundred archers, the flower of the youth of South Wales. Him Hervey de Mountmorres accompanied the uncle of Strongbow; and, the day after, came Maurice de Pendergast, with ten knights and a body of archers. They were joined by Dermot with five hundred men: when, after a tender of mutual oaths, they marched against the towns and strong holds of their enemies; and all gave way before them. The discipline of the invaders insured success to their attacks; and the unusual sight of men and horses, glistening in armour, struck terror to the breasts of the multitude.— But Roderic O'Connor, sovereign of the island, assembled the states of the nation, where, having awakened their alarms, he assembled an army,

¹¹ Giral. Camb. Hiber. Expug. c. 2.

and entered Leinster. The inferior forces of Dermot could not meet him in the field: but they secured themselves in a valley, and defying all attack, were prevailed on to accept terms of accommodation. The quiet possession of his kingdom was secured to Dermot, under fealty to the monarch¹².

Not long after arrived Fitzgerald, with ten knights, thirty horsemen, and about a hundred archers. At the sight of them Dermot, whom no contract could bind, forgot his engagement. He entered the territory of Dublin, which, though a fief of his crown, was, in other regards, an independent city, and cruelly wasted its lands; and he again turned his arms against Roderic, whom he foiled in many actions, in support of Donald, prince of Limerick, who had implored his aid. Lifted up by these smiles of fortune, the tyrant aspired to the sovereign control, and confiding his thoughts to the English chieftains, he wrote, by their advice, to Strongbow, who still deferred the execution of his contract. "We have beheld the storks and the swallows," said he by his messenger; "the birds of summer came, and with the warning of the tempest, they returned. But neither

¹² Girald. Camb. c. 3, &c.

BOOK "gentle gale nor furious blast has bleffed us with
 III. "thy long wished for prefence:" He urges him
 1171. to come speedily, and announces the certain
 fuccefs, which will attend his arrival. The earl
 liftened to the fummons; heard with emotion
 the glorious feats of his countrymen, and refolved
 to follow. But he firft waited on Henry, request-
 ing his permiffion; for as Dermod had recovered
 Leinfter, the licence which had been granted
 obviously expired".

The king did not grant, nor did he refuse,
 the petition. Strongbow, therefore, prepared
 to depart, and he fent before him Raymond, a
 valiant youth of his household, the nephew of
 the half-brothers, FitzStephen and Fitzgerald,
 with ten knights, and feventy archers. His
 exploits near Waterford were fignal; while the
 earl, in the mean time, paffed along the coafts
 of Wales, collecting foldiers to his ftandard. With
 an army of two hundred knights and a thoufand
 men, he failed from Milford, and landed within
 fight of Waterford, which, on the third day, with
 the moft dreadful carnage, fell before him. Dermod
 then, and the Englifh chiefs, joined the noble earl;
 when the horrors of the fcene were, for a time,
 cheered by the feftive celebration of the ftipu-

¹³ Girald. Camb. c. 11, 12.

lated nuptials, between him and Eva, the daughter of the Irish king. This done, they marched against Dublin, and carried it by assault¹⁴.

BOOK
III.
1171.

While success thus crowned their measures, and the English invaders, in the glow of victory, meditated new conquests, and framed new plans for wealth and grandeur, their master, Henry, viewed their progress; nor could he be insensible to its probable issue. Policy demanded he should check the bold adventure, before it was too late, and his subjects acquiring, by their prowess, an independent sovereignty, might defy his power. He published an edict, forbidding his ships to trade to Ireland, and commanding all his subjects to return; or, with the forfeiture of their estates, to be banished for ever. Strongbow, at whom the edict principally aimed, saw the perils which threatened, and consulting with his friends, he resolved to dispatch Raymond to the king — “With your permission;” said the young warrior, addressing Henry, “if he
“remembers well, did the earl of Strigul sail
“to Ireland, wishing only to assist your vassal,
“the king of Leinster. Whatever, therefore, the
“favor of fortune has bestowed upon him, as

¹⁴ Girald. Camb. c. 13. 16.

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BOOK " it all flowed from your royal munificence, so
III. " shall it return to the same, to be disposed of,
1171. " as your will shall direct." — To this flattering offer no answer was returned; for it was made, when the news of Becket's murder spread the first alarm, and the schemes of policy were drowned in consternation¹⁵.

A few months after, died Dermot, king of Leinster, and the earl of Pembroke, (Strigul,) as had been stipulated, claimed his territory. Great achievements were now performed. Dublin was attacked by an army of Norwegians, which its late governor led against it; but they were repulsed and slaughtered: and soon Roderic himself, while his allies, the northern islanders, blocked up the port, surrounded the city with a mighty host. The patriotic archbishop of Dublin, who saw his country on the brink of ruin, by every effort, had stimulated this attempt; and himself appeared in arms. The whole English force, with all their chieftains, Fitzstephen only excepted, lay within the walls. No assault was made; but every pass, by sea and land, was guarded; while the besiegers, in sullen expectation, waited the sure effects of famine. Two months had nearly elapsed, and the blockade

¹⁵ Girald. Camb. c. 19, 20.

endured, and the wished-for distress came upon the besieged. At the same time, certain report was made, that Fitzstephen, in his fort near Wexford, was attacked, and that, unless in three days relief came, he must inevitably perish. With him were his brother's wife and children. Strongbow called the chiefs together; when Fitzgerald laid before them the extremity of their danger, from which their own valor alone could free them. He spoke of the cowardly and ill-armed multitude which lay round them, and feelingly mentioning his brother's distress, he advised an immediate sally. Raymond, who was returned from his embassy, seconded his uncle's proposal, and only moved, that the first assault be made on the quarters of Roderic. It was agreed. Instantly three bands were in readiness. The van of twenty knights, was headed by Raymond: the second, in the centre, of thirty, Milo de Cogan, the governor of the city, commanded: and the third, which formed the rear, consisting of forty, Strongbow himself and Fitzgerald led. The squires of the knights, who, as their masters, fought on horseback, marched with them, and to them were joined some citizens of Dublin. The whole number thus arrayed, amounted, perhaps, to six hundred men.

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About the ninth hour of the day, impetuous as a torrent, the army sallied. But the enemy, unsuspecting and unguarded, lay unarmed in the plain. Dismay seized them, and they fled on all sides, while Raymond in the van advanced, mowing his way to the tent of Roderic. The two sons of Fitzgerald, whose place was in the rear, emulous of their kinsman's glory, sprang forward to his standard. Resistance was nowhere made. The alarm soon reached the sovereign of Ireland, who was bathing in his tent, and he had time to escape in the general confusion. Till the close of evening, the pursuit and carnage lasted, when loaded with spoils and the abundant provisions of the camp, the English returned to the city, having lost, it is said, but one foot-soldier, and slain fifteen hundred of the enemy. By the next morning, the whole multitude had disappeared; and the ships which blocked the port, seeing the flight of their confederates, sailed to the isles from which they came¹⁶.

But Fitzstephen was in the hands of his enemies, not subdued by force, but circumvented by fraud and perjury; and the news reached Strongbow, as he was marching to his rescue.

¹⁶ Girald. Camb. c. 22, 23. 25.

He

He turned aside, therefore, to Waterford, where he found Mountmorres, who had gone on a second embassy to Henry, and from him he learned, that he could no longer delay to wait on his sovereign in England.—His sovereign was at Newnham in Gloucestershire, where the earl presented himself before him. The indignation of Henry was, at first, great; but it subsided, and he received his subject into favor, on condition, that, renewing his former homage and fealty, he surrendered Dublin, with its adjacent territory, to the king, and the sea-port-towns, and the castles he had conquered; his other acquisitions remaining to him and his heirs, in vassalage to the crown of England. The earl then understood, that Henry himself, with a powerful army, was preparing to pass into Ireland¹⁷.

The events I have related, which thus precipitated the fall of Ireland, had occupied no more than two years. The principal causes of the disaster were evident: on the side of the invaders, superior valor, superior discipline, and superior arms, which ambition and every allurements animated; while no resolution, no wise counsels, no spirit of union, no patriotism,

¹⁷ Girald. Camb. c. 28.

BOOK no bold despair, actuated the breasts of the in-
III. vaded. Even when the strangers were few, and
1171. easily affailable, no plan of prepared opposition
 was laid; and when the danger, as their strength
 grew, was greatest, intestine discord prevailed,
 and the arms, which a common enemy provo-
 ked, were turned against their brethren. So
 bad was the constitution of their political system,
 that, had not an invader come, misery, it
 seems, might have multiplied, till to be con-
 quered would have been deemed a blessing.

**Ireland sub-
 mits to Henry.**

Soon in Milford haven was a fleet of four
 hundred and forty ships ready, on which em-
 barked the English army, five hundred knights,
 with their attendant horsemen, and a numerous
 band of archers. It was the sixteenth of October,
 1171; when, with a prosperous gale, they
 sailed, and on the following morning, touched
 the Irish shore. The army landed near Water-
 ford¹⁸; but as the royal passenger disembarked,
 a white hare, says the historian, starting from
 the brakes, was taken, and presented to him as
 the omen of conquest¹⁹. The next day, they
 marched to the city, where the inhabitants of
 Wexford, into whose hands Fitzstephen had

¹⁸ Girald. Camb. c. 30. Hoveden. an. 1171.

¹⁹ Hoveden. ibid.

fallen, delivered him in chains to Henry, hoping that himself would punish his transgressions. How gentle was this behaviour to a man, who had brought ruin on their country! Henry, whose wish, it seems, it was, to be thought the protector rather of Ireland, and whose conduct towards the earl and his associates, from the beginning, had been imposing and mysterious, reproached, in severe terms, the captive hero, and remanded him to prison.—Mac Arthy, prince of Corke, then came, and submitting himself, swore fealty, and gave hostages for the payment of an annual tribute.—From Waterford the king advanced to Lismore, and thence to Cashel, near which, on the banks of the Sure, he was met by O'Brien, prince of Limerick, who, on like terms, did homage; as did also, soon afterwards, the prince of Ossory, with all the inferior potentates of the south. Carested and loaded with presents they returned to their territories, heedless of the chains, they also bore. From Cashel Henry again visited Waterford, where he pardoned, and gave liberty to Fitzstephen, and then proceeded to Dublin. It was the progress rather of a monarch visiting, in paternal kindness, his faithful people, than the march of an ambitious conqueror. The princes of the neighbouring provinces, emulous

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1171.

BOOK of submission, here implored his friendship,
 III. and made their homage. Only the king of Ulster,
 1171. and its princes, did not come.

But Roderic O'Connor, the monarch of all Ireland, moved not from Connaught, pleading his sovereign dignity, and vainly hoping that fortune might listen to his vows. Hugh de Lacy and Fitzaldelm, commissioned by Henry, were sent; and Roderic met them near the Shannon, on the borders of his kingdom. They proposed their master's terms, to which, it is said, he promised obedience, at once doing homage in their hands, and agreeing to a tribute, as the other princes had done²⁰.—Till now, in the revolution of states, Ireland had not known a foreign master.

The festival of Christmas approached, which Henry wished to celebrate with unusual pomp; and, as in the city of Dublin no house was sufficiently spacious to receive the company, he ordered a temporary palace, after the fashion of the country, to be constructed of wattles or smoothed twigs. Here he feasted the kings and nobility of Ireland, with a magnificence, well adapted to reconcile submission, to ease the pain of dependence, and to exhibit, in resistless

²⁰ Girald. Camb. c. 30, 31, 32. Gerv.

lustre, the superior eminence of the new master they had chosen. Even, because it was his pleasure, they ate the flesh of cranes, says the historian, at the royal banquet, which before the nation had abominated²¹. But he does not say, that the Irish minstrels also, in servile adulation, strung their harps, to celebrate, with reproachful melody, their country's fall.

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Mindful of the injunction in the pope's bull, Henry now convened, at Cashel, a national synod of the Irish clergy. The bishop of Lismore presided, as apostolical legate. The enormities, it is said, and the foul practices of the nation, were laid before the council, when several canons were made, and ratified by the king, for the due celebration of regular and orderly marriages; for the instruction and baptism of infants; for the payment of tithes, which till then had not been practised; for the exemption of churches from the exactions of the laity; for establishing the immunities of the clergy in criminal causes; for regulating wills and burials; and finally, for establishing an entire conformity in divine worship, and all matters relating thereunto, between England and Ireland. The prelates then swore allegiance to

²¹ Girald. Camb. c. 30, 31, 32. Gerv.

B O O K Henry and his heirs, and confirmed his perpetual
III. power over them; which deed was afterwards
 sanctioned by the pope, to whom he transmitted
 all the instruments of the transaction. The num-
 ber of prelates in Ireland, were four archbishops,
 and twenty-nine bishops. It was observed,
 that the archbishop of Armagh alone was not
 present, prevented by age and infirmity, a man
 reputed holy by the people, whose companion,
 in all his journeys, was a white cow, the milk
 of which was his only food²².

1172. Having gone thus far towards the reformation
 of Ireland, and made the clergy his friends by
 a grant of favors, and of such immunities as he
 had labored to take from their brethren in
 England, Henry left Dublin, not doubting but
 his presence on the continent would soon be
 necessary. For five successive months, so tem-
 pestuous had been the season, that not a ship
 had arrived with any certain intelligence. But
 at Wexford, to which he moved, news was
 brought, that two legates were in Normandy,
 with impatience waiting his return. To have
 previously settled on a firmer basis the govern-
 ment of his new kingdom, was a business of
 great concern; but stay longer he could not.

²² Girald. c. 33, 34. Hoveden, Gervas ut sup.

Hugh de Lacy, therefore, he appointed justiciary of Ireland, with the government of the royal city of Dublin, and he granted to him, at the same time, by the prerogative of a conqueror, the whole kingdom of Meath, to be held in vassalage of himself and successors. The design of this vast donation was, to balance the power of Strongbow, whose ambition he feared, and who remained in possession of the principality of Leinster. Fitzsteven, Fitzgerald, Raymond, and other principal officers, he took into his own service; he appointed confidential noblemen to the government of the maritime towns; he ordered castles to be built; and taking leave of Ireland, he sailed, on easter Monday, and landed in South-Wales. Some disturbances in this country, and affairs in England could not detain him: but he hastened to Portsmouth, with the young king, his son, and crossed the channel ²³.

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III.
1172.

Albert and Theodine, the legates, met him with his court at the abbey of Savigni, near Avranches. Much was said; and the cardinals proposed an oath, which he rejected: "I have business in Ireland," said the king, leaving them with indignation, "to which I will return: go, where you please, through my

The king is
reconciled to
Rome.

²³ Girald. Hoveden.

BOOK

III.

1172.

“ territories, and execute your legation.” But, a few days after, every difference was removed, and he agreed to all their terms. In the presence then of a great assembly, the young king and the legates standing round, the conqueror of Ireland, with his hand on the gospels, swore;— That he had not ordered, nor desired, the death of the primate; that the news of it had excited in him the deepest affliction; but that, as the violence of his expressions had given occasion to the wicked deed, he did not excuse himself, and would submit to the proposed atonement. He promised to maintain two hundred knights, during one year, in the holy land; himself to take the cross, for three years, and to go in person to Palestine, or against the Saracens in Spain, unless dispensed with by his holiness. He promised to annul the statutes of Clarendon, and such evil customs, as, in his time, had been introduced against the church; to allow appeals to be made to Rome; to restore to Canterbury the possessions which had been seized; and to be reconciled to all those, who, for the primate’s sake, had incurred his displeasure. A solemn absolution was then pronounced by the legates²⁴. — The excommunicated bishops had,

²⁴ Acta. Alex. ep. 88. Gerv. Hoved. an. 1172.

before this, been absolved; and only that no
 successor to the see of Canterbury was yet chosen,
 a prospect of returning concord seemed to pro-
 mise better days to the church, and more hap-
 piness to the prince. The murderers of Becket
 even partook of the general indulgence, who,
 having remained some time in the north of
 England, under public execration, withdrew to
 Rome, whence, in expiation of their crime,
 they were sent to Jerusalem²¹.

BOOK
 III.
 1172.

Since the year 1168, the connexion of domes-
 tic affairs has been such, that, with propriety,
 I could not break their tissue: fortunately,
 however, no event of peculiar moment succeeded
 on the continent. We left Frederic just retired,
 with ignominy, into Germany; the states of
 Lombardy strengthening their confederacy; and
 Alexander at Beneventum²². — The politics of
 France went along with those of England.

View of af-
 fairs on the
 continent.

Frederic, for some time, remained in Germa-
 ny, attentive to the aggrandizement of his family;
 and the concerns of Italy were intrusted to his
 ministers. At Bamberg, in a general diet, he
 caused his son, Henry, to be chosen king
 of the Romans, and conferred on his other

²¹ Neubrig. Hoved.

²² Murat. an. 1169.

B O O K

III.

1172.

children, or prepared for them, the acquisition of such territories and great fiefs, as his extensive influence could command. He sent Everhard, bishop of the mentioned city, on an embassy to the pontiff, hoping, it seems, to seduce him from the confederacy, and thereby to weaken it. The pontiff saw through the insidious project, and was not imposed on²⁷. The archbishop of Mentz was then employed to strengthen the imperial interest; and he left nothing unattempted, between Pisa and the gates of Rome, which could give efficacy to his schemes²⁸. — The Lombards were aware, that the great enemy would soon return, and they prepared to meet him. Milan, by incessant labors, nearly repaired her ruins, and encompassed with a new wall her vast circumference. Even the ladies, in the general enthusiasm, forgot their dearest attachments, and sacrificed their jewels to the work. No city of the confederacy was inactive; while the emperor of the east, with an eye to the object he vainly held in view, gave his name to the league. — Alexander had not yet returned to Rome, excluded by the imperial faction, and by the dislike which the senate, principally, had entertained against an

²⁷ Acta Alex. an. 1170.

²⁸ Murat. ut sup.

ecclesiastical governor. I related the origin of that dislike²². He resided, therefore, in the territories of his Sicilian majesty, or in the Campania of Rome, unmoved by opposition, and by a steady policy, gaining the ascendancy which his virtues merited. Callixtus, the antipope, was but a nominal rival, to whom Frederic, with a childish pertinacity, still gave support.

BOOK
III.
1172.

Such, at this period, was the general aspect. But the opening of a melancholy series again calls us to the concerns of Henry. — Reconciled to the see of Rome, which, till now, had caused him many troubles, in peace with all his neighbours, and possessed of another kingdom, from what quarter could he fear control, much less the cruel downfall of his fondest expectations? A numerous progeny of sons and daughters gave a lustre to his crown; and their several establishments seemed planned, with a consummate wisdom, to prevent jealousy, and to perpetuate the greatness of his family. Henry, his eldest son, he had named his successor in the kingdom of England, the dutchy of Normandy, and the earldoms of Anjou, Maine, and Touraine: Richard, his second son, would possess the dutchy of Guienne, and the county of Poitou: Geoffrey,

In possession
of the crown
of England

²² Hist. of Abeil. Vol. ii. p. 162.

BOOK his third son, in right of his wife, inherited the
III. dutchy of Bretagne; and Ireland, newly con-
1172. quered, was destined, it seems, for John, his
 fourth son. But the very prospect, which threw a
 meridian blaze round the throne of Henry, excited
 the jealousy of his neighbours, and into the
 breasts of those very sons infused a poison, which,
 in the state, would generate the miseries of
 civil discord, and dash their father's days with
 bitterness.

Rebellion of
 Henry's sons.

At the instigation of the legates, the young
 king had again been crowned at Winchester,
 and with him his consort Margaret. It was to
 gratify Louis, whom the former omission had
 irritated, the archbishop of Rouen, performing
 the ceremony. They returned, soon afterwards,
 into Normandy, and visited the French court.
 Louis, at no time a cordial friend to Henry,
 and whom the view of his increasing greatness
 more alarmed, soon discovered in the aspiring
 mind of his son-in-law, dispositions, which
 might be turned to political advantage. He
 suggested to him, that his coronation had been,
 indeed, an idle ceremony; that the homely
 appearance of his train ill befitted the name
 he bore; and that to be a king without a kingdom
 might flatter the ambitious parent, but it demeaned
 the son. "Demand," said he, "the realm

“ of England, or the dukedom, at least, of
 “ Normandy.” The high-spirited youth, whose
 ambition wanted no spur, and whom dependence
 had begun to gall, listened to the remonstrance.
 — I am not disposed to think, that the bene-
 volent monarch, whom I have often praised,
 at all meant to provoke rebellion, or that he
 foresaw the flame, which his imprudent words
 now kindled. It was not long, however, before
 the young king made the demand, which had
 been suggested, and which the father refused¹⁰.

It was after christmas, which Henry and the
 royal family kept at Chinon in Anjou, that he
 proceeded with his court into Auvergne, to meet
 the earl of Savoy. A treaty of marriage was to
 be proposed between John, Henry's youngest
 son, not yet in his eighth year, and the earl's
 eldest daughter. Queen Eleanor accompanied
 her husband, and the princes Richard and
 Geoffrey, and the young king. Highly honorable
 were the offers, which the earl made with his
 daughter, and they were gladly accepted. In
 return, the king proposed to settle on his son
 the three important castles of Mirebeau, Chinon,
 and Loudun, with their dependencies. To this
 the young king refused his signature; and the

¹⁰ Gervas. Hoveden. Dicet. Neubrig. an. 1172.

BOOK court returned in gloom and irritation. Eleanor,
III. born to be the scourge of kings, whom Henry,
1173. we are told, had neglected, and whose temper would ill brook neglect, seized the fatal moment. She meditated revenge, and she could have it, by fomenting the passions of her son, and by urging him to vindicate, without delay, the neglected honors of his station. To engage in the same foul mutiny, the artful woman induced her two youngest sons; and herself promised to follow the standard of rebellion, and by all her influence to support it⁸¹.

In the night, from the town of Limoges, where the court halted, young Henry withdrew precipitately, and escaped to his father-in-law at Chartres. His brothers soon joined him; but Eleanor, disguised in the habit of a man, was taken, and committed to close confinement. Only the infant John remained. And so widely had the contagion spread, that many noblemen hourly deserted their royal master, from a strange instability in the human heart, preferring the uncertain issue of a base rebellion, with all its infamy, if successful, to the sure favors of a sovereign, who had rewarded all their services. The heart of Henry was not broken by the

⁸¹ Gervas. Hoveden. Dicet. Neubrig. an. 1172.

afflicting scene. He had pursued his son as far as was expedient; but when he saw, what his intentions were, he turned indignantly, and lost not another moment. He visited his castles on the frontier of France, and those in Normandy, ordering all necessary repairs; and he sent letters into England, and into the provinces, with instructions to the governors²².

B O O K
III.
1173.

Young Henry, mean while, in the French king's court, received the flattering homage of his admirers; and as the tide swelled, the prospect of a happy revolution seemed to open round him. Into every quarter agents were sent; largesses, rewards, and honors, were profusely promised; and the dazzling virtues of youth were placed, in odious competition, with whatever defects, either malevolence or disappointment had noted in the character of the old king. So now he was called, though not yet in his fortieth year. The defection became incredible, not only where immediate protection might instigate; but in England and the distant provinces. Louis then summoned a council to meet him at Paris, where all the parties, under a solemn oath, bound themselves in mutual confederacy; and so shameless was the avidity

²² Gerv. Hoved.

BOOK

III.

1173.

of men, whose virtues hitherto had commanded admiration, that, availing themselves of the prodigality of a simple youth, they would barter their fame for promises, which to make, or to accept, was alike inglorious. Philip, earl of Flanders, and his brother of Boulogne, and the earl of Blois, took grants of lands and castles in England, and some in Touraine and Normandy; and in return, did homage to the pageant boy. Similar donations were made to several other French noblemen; and in England, the great barons renounced their allegiance, in the base prospect of change or rapine. The king of Scotland and his brother espoused the rebellion, to whom were promised three English counties. — Thus did the storm collect, and from its rapid motion it became evident, that the train of discord had been some time sown, and nourished. Intestine war, with all its horrors threatened; and the winter passed in dreadful preparation³³.

Progress of
the war.

Henry, in astonishment, saw the perils of his situation. He could not avert the evil; and every hour brought him more alarming accounts of some new defection. Pious men called it the visitation of heaven, for the murder of Becket; while others, with more philosophy, viewed it

³³ Auctores sup.

as an event, easily accounted for, on the common principles of human nature ³⁴. Seeing, therefore, that he could place no certain confidence in his own subjects, he resolved to counteract their disloyalty; and, if possible, by securing his possessions and his own person, not to shrink from his enemies, to animate his friends, and to check the fall of those whose allegiance wavered. He took into his pay twenty thousand mercenaries, a formidable body of veteran troops, called Brabanters, because originally from that country; and who, attached to no particular soil, were always ready to serve those, who could pay them best. With these he secured the most important posts on the frontier; and retiring with the main body to the capital of Normandy, he there watched, with the composure of a great mind, the first movements of the enemy.

B O O K
III.
1173.

With the coming of spring, the confederated armies moved. The count of Flanders and his brother, entering Normandy on the side of Picardy, besieged Aumale, which they took; and advancing with their mighty engines, sat down before Neuchatel, which soon surrendered. But here that brother, stricken by an arrow, fell,

³⁴ Neubrig. c. 27.

BOOK and with him all the fond hopes of a great suc-
 III. cession. He was heir to Flanders. The earl
 1173. contemplated the disaster as a divine judgment,
 and retired with his Flemings, imputing all the
 guilt to himself, who, to support an unnatural
 son, had made war against a prince, his near
 kinsman, who had conferred many favors on
 himself, and never done him any wrong". —
 At the time, Louis and the young king were
 before Verneuil, on the other confine, a town of
 singular construction, composed of three distinct
 burghs. Hugh de Lacy and Hugh de Beauchamp
 defended the principal burgh, on which the main
 attack was made. But at the end of a month,
 provisions failing, they were so far reduced as
 to promise a surrender, if within three days,
 they were not relieved. Relief came. For
 Henry, who till now, had not moved from
 Rouen, informed of their distress, marched
 with all his forces, and on the third day
 appeared in order of battle on the heights near
 Verneuil. The French, vain of their numbers
 and the gorgeous equipment of their army,
 ridiculed the parade of battle, and sent a bishop and
 an abbot to learn, what was his serious purpose.
 "Tell your king," said he, with a thundering

" Neubrig. c. 28.

voice, "that this moment I am with him". BOOK
 The bold defiance alarmed the haughty enemy, III.
 and they were induced to propose a conference, 1173.
 to which Henry consented, and a truce for one
 day was agreed on. But an act of perfidy dis-
 graced that day; for the French, availing them-
 selves of the suspension of arms, summoned the
 garrison to surrender, agreeably to the conven-
 tion; and entering the town they set fire to it,
 and in the evening departed. With rage Henry
 saw himself thus duped. He pursued the retiring
 enemy, seized their baggage, entered Verneuil
 which he commanded to be repaired, and
 retired; the next day, with his Brabanters,
 heavily laden with a vast booty, which the
 enemy had left behind them".—He then dispat-
 ched his brave mercenaries into Bretagne, which
 was in arms. In a pitched battle they fought,
 and defeated, the rebels; the leaders of whom,
 Hugh earl of Chester, and the baron de Fougères,
 escaped to the castle of Dol. Here they were
 besieged; and Henry, with an arrow's swiftness,
 arriving before it, they surrendered to his
 mercy, nearly a hundred nobles, the flower
 and strength of Bretagne. The province, with its

" Hoveden. Dicet. Neubrig.

B O O K castles, soon returned to obedience. This was
III. in August³⁷.

1173. The flow of unexpected success abashed the rebel-forces, and a conference, by the mediation of the pope's legate, was proposed. They met on the borders: Louis, with the three brothers, and a splendid train of vassals; and the English monarch, not less nobly attended. With parental goodness, Henry offered terms of great advantage to his sons: to the eldest, half of the revenues of England, or of Normandy, as might please him best, with a suitable number of castles to reside in: and to Richard and Geoffrey, similar conditions in Bretagne and Aquitaine; "refer-
 "ving to himself the right of sovereignty and
 "the administration of justice." The reservation, probably, displeased Louis; for he rejected the terms, and the conference ended³⁸.

The flames of civil discord; with equal fury, raged in England, the young earl of Leicester heading the rebellion. Richard de Lucy, justiciary of the realm, and the earl of Cornwall besieged the town, which bore his name, and had taken it, when news came, that the Scottish king, in savage force, had entered England, and

³⁷ Hoveden. Neubrig.

³⁸ Hoveden.

had marched, with horrid devastation, to the gates of Carlisle. De Lucy, with what troops he had, instantly turned northward, and was joined by the lord high constable, Humphrey de Bohun. The plunderers heard of their approach, and retired to Scotland, into which they were pursued, and the English army ravaged Lothian, with impunity. But a messenger brought intelligence, that the earl of Leicester, with an army of Flemings, had landed in the east, where Hugh Bigot had received him into his castle of Framlingham, renowned for its thirteen towers and wide enclosure. Alarmed at the news, they proposed a truce to the king of Scotland, which, ignorant of their motive, he accepted, and they returned. By this time, the rebel-army had taken Norwich; but had failed in their attempt on Dunwich, then a celebrated and opulent town on the coast. Bigot was tired of his guests, and he requested the earl to remove them to his own castles. He complied reluctantly, and was on his march towards Leicester, when he heard, that the loyal Bohun, with the earls of Cornwall, Arundel, and Gloucester, intercepted his route, and were at Saint Edmundsbury, arrayed to meet him. An action was inevitable; for the royal army soon appeared, the banner of St. Edmund waving in the van. The same moment saw the conflict

B O O K
III.
1173.

BOOK begin and terminate; so irresistible, on the plain,
III. was the shock of the royal cavalry. The earl and his countess, with most of the Flemish horsemen, were taken; and of the foot very few escaped the sword³⁹. — A truce with Louis succeeded, and the armies retired to winter-quarters.

Though Henry had been intent on the best means of defence, he had not neglected the auxiliary arms of the church. Feelingly he implored the aid of Alexander, against his rebellious children; and to animate his zeal, “he acknowledged himself his vassal, and called “England the patrimony of Peter⁴⁰.” So had misfortunes humbled, and deranged, it seems, his reason! The mediation of the legates was the consequence of this address; for the pontiff, where Louis interfered, could not take a more active part. — Other bishops also attempted the christian work of reconciliation, by letters to the young king and to Eleanor, but without success⁴¹.

1174. In adjusting plans, and preparing for a new campaign, the gloomy winter passed. The earl of Flanders was again prevailed on to join the con-

³⁹ Auctores ut sup.

⁴⁰ Pet. Bless. ep. 136.

⁴¹ Id. ep. 33. 154.

federacy, and he agreed to invade England, in conjunction with young Henry: the Scots would enter the northern counties of England: and Louis, aided by the rebel-dukes of Bretagne and Aquitaine, undertook to carry his arms into Henry's French dominions.—The truce expired with the easter-holidays; when the furious Scot poured his barbarians into Northumberland, which having laid waste, he advanced into Westmoreland, and again besieged Carlisle. Roger de Mowbray joined him. Him the gallant Geoffrey, elected bishop of Lincoln, natural son of Henry and of Rosamond de Clifford, at the head of his vassals, and the loyalists of Yorkshire, had expelled from his castles; and he prepared to succour Carlisle. The king of Scotland retreated, and sat down before Alnwick.—But, in other parts of the kingdom, the prospect was more alarming. In the east, a body of Flemings, the precursors of the grand invasion, had joined Hugh Bigot; and the earl of Derby, with the brother of the Scottish monarch, the earl of Huntingdon, and the adherents of Leicester, awed the midland provinces. De Lucy every where opposed the rebels, and cheered the hearts of his loyal friends; but he was aware, should the young king land, that his presence alone, in the wavering state of politics, would inevitably turn the scale. The prudent

BOOK III.
1174. minister took the advice of his associates; when it was resolved to implore the immediate return of his majesty⁴².

Richard of Ivelchester, archdeacon of Poitiers, elected to the see of Winchester, was chosen to the commission. He found his master on the frontier of Normandy, returned from pacifying the provinces of Maine, Anjou, and Aquitaine, and then consulting with his friends and the governors of his towns and castles, how best to defend them against the mighty arms of the enemy. Henry listened to the pressing entreaty, and instantly complied: indeed, for some time, a fleet at Barfleur had been prepared for the emergency. Nor was there a moment to be lost; for the earl of Flanders and young Henry were then lying at Gravelines, waiting only for the wind, which might land them, with all their forces, on the English shore. He took with him Eleanor, and Margaret his son's queen, and his infant children, and the most considerable of his prisoners; and on the 8th of July, early in the morning, sailed. But a gale rose, and the sea grew rough, and the countenances of the mariners showed hesitation and dismay. The king, raising his eyes to heaven, audibly said: "If the

⁴² Dicet. Hoved. Neubrig. an. 1174.

“supreme ruler, by my arrival, hath ordained
 “to restore that peace to my people, which is
 “my only wish, may he mercifully bring me to
 “a port of safety: but if his face is turned
 “away, and he hath resolved to visit them in
 “his wrath, may I never be permitted to reach
 “England’s shore”. He arrived, that evening, in
 the harbour of Southampton “.

BOOK
 III.
 1174.

More than three years had elapsed, since the murder of the primate, a period replete with wonders, which contemporaries beheld with the pleasing emotions of a devout reverence, and we review with a fastidious sneer. So discordant are the habits of man, which vary with the varying scene; while throughout they are but a part of that progressive system, which the lapse of ages, as they roll on, perpetually evolves. — The circumstances of Becket’s death were peculiarly striking; and the age was disposed to receive the whole impression, and in receiving to exalt it. The appearance of miracles was to them no uncommon phenomenon. They attested, they thought, the sanctity of the living; and they blazed more conspicuously from their graves. A competent knowledge of the laws, by which nature acts, was not at hand to unravel the

Henry visits
 the tomb of
 Becket.

“Diceto ut sup.

BOOK III. 1174. mystery: the ruler of the universe, they persuaded themselves, took pleasure in this palpable display of power: religion, it seemed to them, daily called for the invigorating support: and the criticism of the times, too credulous because too unenlightened, was unapt as their philosophy, in the examination of witnesses, and the discussion of facts. The churchmen also, who then possessed the greatest knowledge, were themselves more than ever interested to believe the attestation of their senses, and to propagate, among the people, the happy illusion. In the vindication of their privileges, the primate had spilt his blood. That they meant to deceive, is most foreign from my mind to insinuate; but, I believe, they were themselves, by no voluntary act, imposed on; and elsewhere, if not here, I trust, I have accounted "for it". The virtues of the primate were conspicuous in his life; but for their further display, or to enforce their imitation, can we be induced to think, that an almost uninterrupted suspension of the laws of nature would be deemed expedient, as the credulous devotion of many, bending round his tomb, should, in simplicity of heart, call for it?

⁴⁴ Life of Abeil. Vol. i. p. 224.

Curious to a philosophic mind is the account which historians, present on the spot, or not distant from it, give of the events that immediately succeeded to the primate's death. They describe them as opening, in a humble prelude, at his tomb; then spreading to all parts of the church; extending through the kingdom; filling the world. Every infirmity, they say, gave way to the power of his name. Even the dead were raised to life. But in the number of these miracles, then recorded in two volumes, some are so trivial and ludicrously sportive, that, while we admire the credulity of the narrator, a suspicion involuntarily rises, that their more serious and solemn facts were too lightly assumed, to merit impartial belief. The wax-tapers round his bier being extinguished, were invisibly relighted! As he lay dead in the choir, he raised his right hand, and blessed the assembly⁴⁵! His eyes being injured by the wounds, they were replaced by others of a smaller size, and of two different colors, that the miracle might be out of the reach of controversy⁴⁶! Birds and other animals recovered life⁴⁷! But the fame of these wonders

BOOK

III.

1174.

⁴⁵ Ep. Senon. 88. ap. Hoved.

⁴⁶ Girald. Camb. c. 20.

⁴⁷ Mat. Par. p. 121.

B O O K reached every ear: the enemies of Becket, in
III. confusion, acknowledged the atrocity of their
1174. conduct; and his friends exulted, while every
lane, that led to Canterbury, swelled with the
concourse of pilgrims, hastening to his tomb.
The contagion spread abroad; and every devout
man, listening to his neighbour's tale, envied
the happiness of England. The Roman bishop,
by messenger after messenger, was entreated to
enrol the blessed martyr in the calendar of
saints, and to give him to the prayers of the
faithful. Alexander was a wary and prudent man;
and though the cause of the martyr was his own,
and he could now sanctify all its pretensions, he
was not willing, without some deliberation, to
precipitate the solemn ceremony. But when his
legates returned, who had more immediately
witnessed the various facts, and vouched their
reality, he could no longer procrastinate. He
assembled a consistory, took their advice, and
in great pomp pronounced the canonization of
the martyr, Thomas *.

The fact was recent, and its celebrity engaged
the public attention, while the unnatural rebellion
raged, which I have described. With superstition
or a mistaken piety, the violation, it seems,

* Baron. an. 1173.

of obvious duties can, sometimes, associate, and raise no horror! Henry, though absolved from the crime he had occasioned, was not yet free from odium: the conquest of Ireland had silenced the malevolence of religious zeal; but it now broke out again, and even good men thought, they saw the hand of divine justice pressing on him. Himself could not be insensible to the afflicting circumstance; and he felt poignantly the cruel usage of his children and nearest friends, which his conduct had not merited. The signs of heavenly approbation, which attested the sanctity of the primate, would likewise reproach his heart; for he, no more than others, could not withstand an evidence which a cloud of witnesses proclaimed. To join the public voice, and by joining it to appease the anger of heaven, he might seriously deem an act of religious duty: but if thereby he might recover the lost affections of his people, policy would applaud the measure, and the disastrous state of things called for every exertion. In these sentiments, Henry landed at Southampton, and he purposed immediately to visit the tomb of Becket.

On the morrow, which was Tuesday, in the month of July, leaving the queens, and his brave mercenaries to proceed onward, he mounted his horse, and with a few attendants, took

B O O K

III.

1474.

BOOK

III.

1174.

the way to Canterbury. But it was Friday morning, before he came in sight of the tower of Christ-church, which he beheld, and dismounting, he laid aside his garments, threw over his shoulders a woollen rug, and walked on, silent and pensive. The distance was three miles; and as he entered the city before the people, the stones, as his bare feet pressed them, were marked with blood. He came to the church; and they showed him the martyr's shrine which he approached trembling, and fell prostrate on the ground. With his arms extended, here he remained in prayer, while Gilbert Foliot, bishop of London, harangued the crowded audience, solemnly protesting, in his master's name; "that he had not commanded, nor advised, nor by any artifice contrived, the primate's death; but as his words, too inconsiderately spoken, had occasioned the fatal act, he again begged absolution, and would submit himself to punishment." — The bishops, who were present, followed by some abbots, the clergy, and the whole convent of monks, in number eighty, each with a knotted cord in his hand, then advanced to the spot where the monarch prayed. He bared his shoulders and received their lashes, five from the bishops, and three from every other hand. Resuming his prayers, in the same

attitude of humble supplication, he continued on the pavement, many watching round him, till the midnight bell tolled for matins; and when these were finished, he rose, visited the altars of the upper church and the bodies of the saints there interred, and again descended to the shrine. But the morning began to dawn, when he requested mass might be said, at which he assisted; and having assigned, with other rich gifts, a revenue of forty pounds a year, for tapers to be kept burning round the body of the saint, he drank some water mingled with his blood, and with a smiling and joyous countenance withdrew". — On the next day he reached London.

BOOK

III.

1174.

But though the pressure of his affairs called for immediate exertions, here he was detained. Fatigue of many days, and the peculiar circumstances of his late pilgrimage, had brought on an indisposition, which repose only could remove. As, one night, he slept in his palace, suddenly a messenger arrived, and knocked at the gates. The guards commanded silence; but he knocked more violently: "I have good news," he called out, "which the king must hear immediately." They admitted him; and, with the

The Scottish king taken, and the rebellion in England suppressed.

" Dicet. Gerv. Hoveden. Neubrig. ut sup.

BOOK same importunity, passing the gentlemen of the
III. bedchamber, he entered to the king, and wakened
1174. him. "Who art thou?" said his majesty, surprised by the sudden noise. — "I am the
 "servant of Ranulph de Glanville," replied he,
 "sent with good tidings to your highness." —
 "Is my loyal Ranulph well?" rejoined Henry. —
 "My master is well," said he: "and lo! he
 "has your enemy, the Scottish king, now in
 "chains at Richmond." — "Repeat it;" said
 the king, overpowered by the news. The messenger repeated his words. — "Have you
 "any letters?" then demanded Henry. The messenger produced a letter, which, when the king had cursorily perused, he sprang from his bed; and, as the tears ran down his cheeks, he gave thanks to him, whose will alone worketh wonders. He called his friends round him, and told them the tidings. In the morning, other couriers came; the news was given to the people; and the bells of London rang with gladness*. — The particulars of the event were briefly these.

The king of Scotland, it has been said, was before Alnwick; and as the loyalists had retired, he continued the blockade unmolested, and sent off detachments to desolate the neighbouring

* Neubrig. c. 34.

country. Secure from attack, he indulged the savage warfare, and heard the reports of his soldiers, when, with bloody hands, they related the achievements of the day. But the Yorkshire-barons were roused, and forming themselves into a body of four hundred knights, under Ranulph de Glanville, sheriff of their county, they advanced to Newcastle. Here they learned the state of the Scottish forces, and resolved to proceed, though no prospect of success could flatter them, from the disproportionate power of the enemy. They rose before the sun, and advanced rapidly, enveloped in a dark mist. But this circumstance, which was propitious, alarmed the more cautious; and they halted, uncertain of the road, and wavering in their resolution. "Return who will," exclaimed Bernard de Baliol, a baron of noble blood, "no retreat shall stain my honor, and I will proceed alone." They advanced; when the mist suddenly broke, and the castle of Alnwick appeared, in near view, before them. The Scottish monarch also soon appeared, surrounded by a troop of about sixty horsemen, secure on the plain, and busied in feats of chivalry. He observed their approach; but thought them his own men returning with plunder, till the English banner struck his sight. He was amazed, but not

B O O K daunted ; for he could not doubt , but so weak
III. a band must be soon overpowered by his multi-
1174. tudes. Wherefore , fiercely shaking his spear ,
 he called gallantly to his followers , and rushed
 foremost to the attack. The English knights met
 the shock : William's horse , pierced to the heart ,
 fell ; and the noble prey was seized. With him
 most of the troop surrendered , for they did not
 attempt to escape , and other nobles coming up ,
 gave themselves to the enemy , that they might
 join their lord in his calamity. The victorious
 party returned with their captives , and lodged
 the royal prisoner in the castle of Richmond ".—
 It was remarked , that this event happened , on
 the morning, Henry rose from before the primate's
 shrine ! — The Scottish army , on the news of
 the disaster , retired precipitately.

Henry, without more delay, left London, and
 marched towards Huntingdon, which, with its
 castle, surrendered. David, prince of Scotland,
 who commanded the rebel-forces in that quarter,
 hearing of his brother's captivity, had withdrawn
 to his own country. The king then advanced
 into Suffolk, against Hugh Bigot. The rebel-
 lord, on his approach, though strongly support-
 ed by his own vassals and an army of Flemings,

⁵¹ Neubrig , c. 33.

lost heart. He suppliantly met the king; was pardoned; and delivered to him his castles of Framlingham and Bungay. But it was with difficulty, that he obtained permission for his Flemish auxiliaries to return to their looms. — Fortune once more smiled; and Henry led his army to the royal castle of Northampton. Hither was brought the monarch of Scotland, William, surnamed the Lion, bound, like a felon, on his horse! If the regal dignity felt the insult; his lust of blood, and the cause he had wantonly espoused, merited the degrading treatment. — Then the earl of Leicester surrendered his castles; and the bishop of Durham, who had favored the rebellion, and Roger de Mowbray, and de Ferrars earl of Derby, submitted to mercy, and gave up their fortresses. The rebellion closed⁵². — So much had the captivity of Scotland's king, and the news, that the invasion from Flanders was suspended, unnerved the party. The presence also of Henry, whose piety, though mistaken, had, we may believe, pleased heaven, aided much the happy revolution. But he learned this lesson, that a licentious nobility will, at any time, rather rush into the horrors of civil war, than submit to the irksome control of a vigilant

BOOK

III.

1174.

⁵² Hoveden. Dicet. Gervas.

BOOK administration. — Affairs on the continent calling
III. him away, he left the queens behind him; and
1174. on the seventh of August, with his prisoners,
 his Brabanters, and a thousand Welshmen, sent by
 David ap Owen, embarking at Portsmouth, he
 landed at Barfleur, and marched towards the
 capital of Normandy⁵⁵.

The siege of
 Rouen, which
 is followed by
 a general
 peace.

Rouen was besieged by the combined armies
 of France and Flanders; for, when Henry landed
 in England, the scheme of an invasion dropt,
 and the young king, with the earl, led their
 Flemings to the siege. A mightier army, it is
 said, Europe had not seen since the last crusade,
 headed by kings, and furnished with every war-
 like implement. But Rouen could withstand their
 onset. It was garrisoned by the Norman nobility,
 who crowded to its defence, and by citizens,
 well trained to arms, hardy and magnanimous.
 Besides, it was assailable only on the north-eastern
 side, the Seine on the south, forbidding all
 approach, and the neighbouring hills, rising like
 nature's bulwarks. So the historian describes it.
 But so little understood was the art of sieges,
 that the navigation of the river was left free, and
 the communication with the country over Matil-
 da's bridge, as unimpeded, as in time of peace;

⁵⁵ Hoveden.

the enemy confining their assault to about the third part of the great circumference of the city. The vigorous efforts of the besiegers, (who had divided themselves into three bodies, advancing in rotation every eighth hour, that no moment of the natural day might surcease from labor) are well described; and the counter-action of the besieged, who by a similar division of forces, resisted and foiled their energy. On the feast of St. Laurence, the tenth of August when the siege had lasted twenty days, Louis announced a suspension of arms, in honor of his favorite martyr. The citizens, with peculiar festivity, celebrated the day of rest. Their songs echoed in the streets, while the men at arms, issuing through the southern gate, lightly sprang towards the Seine, and tilted on its banks. From their lines, the enemy marked their sport, and felt the insult. I shall not relate the dishonorable proposal of the earl of Flanders, at this moment, to assault the walls, nor the silent preparations which ensued. I shall not relate the accidental discovery of this design, by some priests, from an elevated tower, nor the ringing to the alarm-bell, at which the enemy rushed, in thousands, from their lines, and the Normans, with the speed of lightning, rallied back to their posts. I shall not relate, that the walls were scaled, and shouts of victory were heard, when a conflict began, of direful

BOOK

III.

1174.

B O O K

III.

1174.

obstinacy, and which the night only ended, whilst the ditches were filled with the slain and wounded, and the blood ran in torrents from the walls. Then the enemy retired in confusion to their camp¹⁴.

Before this, the confederates had heard, that the king of Scotland was in chains, that the rebellion in England was expiring: but they were not prepared to see, what their eyes, the next day, beheld, the English monarch himself, at the head of his army, marching over the plain, crossing the bridge, and entering the city in martial triumph. A damp fell upon their hearts. But soon the Welsh infantry seized a convoy of forty waggons, loaded with provisions; and the northern gates were thrown open, that the king, with his cavalry, might act offensively against the enemy. Want of bread for two days, and the forlorn prospect before them, determined the confederates to raise the siege, which they did, before the twentieth day of the month, having burnt their machines and heavy implements¹⁵. — In a few days, came the earl of Blois and the archbishop of Sens, with overtures of peace; and a conference was appointed to be held at Gisors, on the eighth of September,

¹⁴ Neubrig. c. 39.

¹⁵ Hoveden. Dicet.

Even the incendiaries of the war now desired to end it. Their enterprises, in a manner unaccountable to human penetration, had miscarried, and the God of armies had seemed visibly to protect the injured rights of a parent. Henry, though a glorious revenge called him on to war, was disposed himself to check the tide of victory, and to embrace a peace, that would give him back his children. The kings met at Gisors; but duke Richard was absent in Poitou, insulting the castles and vassals of his father. It was therefore, resolved to prolong the truce to Michaelmas, and Henry marched into Poitou. The stubborn youth, as he approached, retreated: but finding no succour would come, his iron heart relented, he waited on the king; he wept; he fell on his knees; and asked forgiveness. Henry forgave him; and they went together to the place of conference, between Tours and Amboise. Peace was concluded⁶⁶.

The terms were; That the three princes should return to their father and their allegiance, themselves free, and freeing all others, from the oaths of confederacy, they had taken: that a restitution of lands and castles, as they had been held, fifteen days before the rebellion,

⁶⁶ Hoveden.

BOOK should be made on both sides: that the father
III. should remit all displeasure against the rebels,
1174. and the young king also promise never to molest
those, who had been faithful to his father. The king then settles two castles in Normandy on his son, to be chosen by himself, and a yearly revenue of fifteen thousand pounds in Angevin money; on Richard, two convenient places in Poitou, from which no mischief could arise, and half the revenues of the province; and on Geoffrey, half of the revenues of Bretagne, till his marriage with the daughter of Conan, with the consent of the Roman church, should entitle him to the whole. The princes then gave security, that they would never, against their father's will, demand more than had now been stipulated; and would never withdraw from him their persons or services. Richard and Geoffrey did homage for their grants; but from Henry on account of his royal dignity, it was not demanded".

The earl of Leicester, and the other great prisoners, were released, on terms of uncommon clemency: nine hundred and sixty-nine captive knights received their liberty without ransom: and of the few, who were detained in prison,

⁵⁷ Hoveden.

not one suffered death! Such mercy had never before graced the annals of kings, and it gives a dignity to the age which beheld it.—Only William of Scotland, in the castle of Falaise, had not yet his liberty. But the Scotch nobles and prelates here resorted to him; and by their advice, it was finally agreed, to surrender the ancient independence of their crown, and to subject it to England. William, therefore, did homage to Henry, for the kingdom of Scotland, and for all his other territories, swearing fealty to him, as to his liege lord. The other articles being read, hostages were delivered for their more solemn ratification, on a future day, and William had liberty to return to his kingdom⁵.

—The arrangement of many concerns in the provinces, now engaged the attention of Henry.

Events, on which the historian loves to dwell, because his reader does, and because in both they excite affections to which pleasure is annexed, will, from this time, cease to adorn the reign of Henry. But the view of less turbulent scenes, than sieges, battles, victories, in the administration of justice, in domestic arrangements, and the execution of laws, can surely raise some interest in the human breast. I

⁵ Diceto ut sup.

BOOK will omit no circumstance that can inform,
III. none that can portray manners, none that can
 develope the character or the politics of the
 age.

1175.

Miscellaneous
 Occurrences.

Some distrust still subsisting between Henry and his eldest son, means were taken to remove it. He waited on his father at Bure, and with tears implored his forgiveness, in the presence of many nobles, who were his sureties, doing homage, as his brothers had done, and swearing, as was usual, on some relics of saints, that he would be ever faithful to him. This covenant was afterwards confirmed at Westminster. At Caen they were met by the earl of Flanders, who came to renew friendship with Henry, his conscience upbraiding him with its late infraction. And to atone for that guilt and the miseries he had brought on others, he had lately taken the cross, purposing, with an army, to depart for Palestine. The two kings then sailed for England, and publicly to announce their love, they daily ate, say the historians, at the same table, and slept in the same bed¹⁹.

The new primate had convened a diocesan synod at Westminster. He had been prior of Dover. I did not relate the various disputes

¹⁹ Diceto. Hoveden. an. 1175.

which preceded his election, nor the obstacles, thrown by the young king in its way, which compelled him to go into Italy, where he was consecrated by Alexander himself, and returned with legatine powers. He was a man of gentle manners, and by all parties well esteemed. The kings were present in the council, and approved its canons, which were taken from those of other synods, or the decrees of popes, and principally tended to reform the manners of the clergy, and to suppress abuses. — In company of the primate, they then went to Canterbury, where Henry passed a second night in prayer, before the tomb of Becket.

But he who could pardon, with a godlike clemency, treason in his children and rebellion in his subjects, could not forgive lighter misdemeanours, which touched his favorite passion. During the war, the game in the royal forests had been destroyed, the gentlemen having hunted without restraint; but now all descriptions of men, by a most vexatious prosecution, were brought to trouble for this offence. They pleaded a general liberty, granted by the justiciary Richard de Lucy, and himself confirmed it, alledging, that he had been so ordered by Henry. The vindictive sportsman did not desist. A general inquisition was made on oath, and even *hear-say*

BOOK evidence being admitted, the delinquents were
 III. punished by heavy amerciaments⁶⁶. That his
 1175. coffers were empty, I believe; but it was unwarrantable and unkingly thus to replenish them. So true, however, it has, at all times, been, that when a few had arrogated to themselves a privilege, designed by providence to be enjoyed by all men, they have not desisted to maintain their usurpation by means, oppressive and nefarious. The forest-laws, it is allowed, were tyrannical. Our own game-laws are as much so; nor will Englishmen be free, till they, with the manorial rights of lords, and other remains of the feudal system, be buried in the grave of their Norman parent.

In a progress through the kingdom, from his favorite palace of Woodstock, Henry was at Gloucester where he settled some disturbances of South - Wales; and at Nottingham, where he impleaded the destroyers of his deer; and at York, where the king of Scotland met him, with the great men of his land, laity and clergy, to fulfil the convention of Falaise. In the church of St. Peter, the nobles and bishops of both countries assisting, William renewed his liege homage to Henry and his son. The same was

⁶⁶ Diceto. Hoveden, an. 1175.

done by the bishops, abbots, and other clergy; and the barons swore allegiance for themselves and their heirs, adding that, should their king recede from his fealty, they would stand by Henry, as their lord, against all his enemies⁶¹.

BOOK

III.

1175.

— The surrender was complete; and Henry became king of Britain. That the Scottish nation, powerful in arms, high-minded, and ever hostile to England, should thus cheerfully, as it seems, for the ransom of their prince, have paid so high a price, is an event almost inexplicable: but we know not the secret measures which negotiated the transaction. The most probable conjecture is, that they dreaded the power of Henry, now free to revenge their late wanton insult, and preferred a submission, apparently voluntary, to the severer terms which a conqueror might dictate.

A new treaty of settlement was also made with Ireland. Since Henry had left it, as might be expected, disturbances had ensued, occasioned by the depredations which the English committed, by impatience of a foreign yoke, and by the hope, which the rebellion in England daily animated, of recovering their independence: for, the chiefs, whose presence they most dreaded,

⁶¹ Dicet. Hoveden. Neubrig. c. 37. Chron. de Mailros.

BOOK were themselves called away to aid the royal
III. cause. But nothing succeeded. There was no
1175. union in their plans. And soon Strongbow
 returned ; and the brave Raymond, now the
 foldier's friend, whether for spoils or glory, had
 opened new conquests, by the taking of Lime-
 rick, and other achievements⁶². In despair of
 success, Roderic O'Connor, king of Connaught,
 sent his minister to Henry, who found him at
 Windsor, about the time of Michaelmas; and
 there, in a council of the nation, articles of a
 more specific convention were ratified. — Henry
 grants to his liegeman Roderic, as long as he
 shall faithfully serve him; that he be a king under
 him, and paying him tribute, to hold his ter-
 ritories, as he had held them before Henry came
 into Ireland. The inhabitants, likewise, are
 quietly to possess their lands, so long as they
 remained faithful to the king of England, and
 paid him their tribute and his other rights, through
 the hands of the Irish king. The tribute is a hide,
 saleable for the merchant, from every tenth beast
 killed in Roderic's territories, or in other lands,
 to be paid annually. But in the demesnes of
 Henry and those of his barons, Roderic has no
 concern. These are Dublin and its appurtenances;

⁶² Girald. Camb. l. ii. c. 8. &c.

Meath and all its appurtenances; Wexford and the kingdom of Leinster; and Waterford with the adjacent country⁶³. — In this loose manner, which argues no fixed system of policy, was the government of Ireland settled. When the ancient independence of the realm was broken, by the introduction of a foreign sovereignty, it was more than expedient, surely, on the ruins of the old form, to have erected a new fabric of legislation, and to have established an executive power, that might and would have been willing, to compel submission. Events will show, how weakly the whole was planned.

Soon afterwards, in an assembly at Northampton, regulations were made in the internal polity of England. It was agreed to divide the country into six circuits, in each of which three itinerant justices or judges were appointed, to hear and determine criminal and civil causes; and from whom an oath was taken to observe, and cause to be observed, the several ordinances then enacted. These ordinances or statutes are said to be those of Clarendon; but they are not those which excited the controversy, nor do they regard ecclesiastical matters. Many of them were only calculated to redress the disorders

1176.

⁶³ Hoveden, an. 1175.

B O O K occasioned by the late commotions; and others
III. referred to civil property, and the criminal
1176. justice of the realm. Of the last description
 one is peculiarly curious. If any one, it says, is
 arraigned before the king's justices of murder,
 or theft, or robbery, or of receiving any such
 malefactors, or of forgery, or of malicious
 burning of houses, by the oath of twelve knights
 of the hundred, or, in their absence, by the oath
 of twelve free and lawful men, or by the oath of
 four men of every town of the hundred, he shall be
 sent to the water-ordeal, and if convicted, shall lose
 one of his feet. To which the statute of Northampton
 adds, that he shall likewise lose a hand, and
 abjuring the realm, go out of it, within forty
 days. If acquitted by the ordeal, he shall find
 sureties, and stay in the kingdom, unless he had
 been arraigned of murder, or any heinous
 felony, by the community of the county and
 of the legal knights of his country: in which
 case, though acquitted by the ordeal, he shall
 leave the realm within forty days, taking with
 him his chattels, and remain at the king's
 mercy". — The Roman church had in vain
 striven to suppress these absurd trials; and here
 we see them solemnly sanctioned, with clauses

" Hoveden. an. 1176.

of palpable injustice, by a statute of the English nation in council assembled!

Cardinal Huguzon, a legate from the pope, whom Henry had particularly requested, had been some months in England. Tired of his queen, whom he also viewed as a principal agent in the late rebellion, he sought for a divorce. The secrets of the negociation have not transpired; but no divorce was obtained. Huguzon, however, was not idle. He visited the churches, exercising his superior jurisdiction, and gaining the odium of the clergy, by permitting the king to prosecute them, for having hunted in his forests. A synod was then summoned to meet him at Westminster. I shall not detail the scandalous scene, which ensued between the archbishops of Canterbury and York, for the right of precedence, in which the latter was wounded, and whereby the Italian legate was so alarmed, that he retired precipitately, and soon left a country which, by his venal and fervile conduct, he had disgusted. But he took with him a letter from Henry to the Roman pontiff, which merits notice.—“ Out of
“ reverence to the holy see,” says he, “ and to
“ you, though the greatest and wisest men in

“ Hoveden. Gervas.

BOOK III. 1176. " my kingdom opposed the measure, at the
 " intercession of your legate, I have granted
 " the following ordinances:—That no ecclesiastic,
 " in future, shall be personally taken before
 " a secular judge, for any crime or transgression,
 " except against the forest-laws, or in the case of
 " a lay-fee, for which secular service is due: that
 " I will not retain in my hands, beyond the term
 " of one year, vacant bishoprics or abbies, unless
 " from urgent necessity or some evident cause: that
 " every wilful and malicious murderer of a clergy-
 " man, on conviction or confession before my
 " justiciary, besides the usual punishment for the
 " murder of a layman, shall suffer a forfeiture, for
 " himself and for his heirs, of all his inheritance
 " for ever: that churchmen shall not be com-
 " pelled to any trials by duel". "

Thus, by the royal prerogative alone, contrary to the declared sentiments of the *greatest and wisest men*, is that statute of Clarendon reversed, which, at the time, caused such general reclamation, and which, it was pretended, was amongst the *ancient usages* of the realm. I will also observe, how idle it is, in some modern historians, to talk of *acts of parliament*, or of a *system* of legislation, at a period, when our govern-

" Dicet. an. 1176.

ment was so precarious and undefined, that the will of the monarch alone, sometimes, constituted law, and, sometimes, a headstrong aristocracy checked its most salutary operations. — Trials by *duel* were a species of more honorable *ordeal*, then much resorted to, even in some civil suits, as well as in causes which appertained to the courts of chivalry. But their principle was as absurd as that of the vulgar ordeals, and equally incompetent to protect the rights of truth or innocence. To the shame of human reason, a practice which, at that time, we can say, sprang from the grossest ignorance, has still its votaries; as if the present mode of vindicating honor were more rational, than it then was, to sit down on water, or to tread on burning ploughshares!

BOOK
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Henry's remaining daughters were, this year, married; Eleanor, to Alphonso king of Castille, and Joan, to William king of Sicily, surmanned the *good*: an alliance effected by the mediation of Alexander, whose peculiar friend he was. Manuel Comnenus and Frederic Barbarossa had offered their daughters to William, and had been refused. He was partial to the English name, from an early impression made by Peter de Blois, who for some time, had been his master, and whom he wished to retain in Sicily. Peter was

BOOK now secretary to Henry, a man of much learning,
III. ing, and a principal agent in the transactions of
1176. the times.

John of Salisbury, whose name I have often mentioned, the secretary of Becket and his inseparable companion, was, about this time, by the choice of the chapter, and the earnest wishes of the French king, called to the see of Chartres. His learning, in every department of science, was uncommonly celebrated, and he has left it recorded in many works; but his virtues were more conspicuous. The portrait he often draws of the Roman court, the excesses of which he had personally witnessed, proves, that he was as free to censure as to give praise, when the subject called for either". But it is too lightly asserted, that the influence of that court so far overpowered the minds of men, that they were awed into silence, and checked in their common operations. I have shown that it was not so; and now a fresh instance presents itself. — Vivian, another legate from Alexander, soon followed Huguzon, with a commission for Scotland and Ireland. He landed at Dover, where, with Roman insolence, says the monkish historian, forcing himself into lodgings, he was soon compelled to demean himself more humbly, and to

" Ep. Johan. Sarisb. passim.

request admittance. But Henry, hearing of his arrival, sent two bishops to demand, by whose authority he dared, thus unlicensed, to enter the realm of England? The legate trembled: "I will do nothing," said he, "and I swear it, against the will of your master." He was permitted to proceed; and the king granted him a safe conduct, and defrayed the expenses of his journey into Scotland". — The power of Rome would not have overleaped the bounds, which religion and reason had fixed, had not princes, from views of interest and ambition, authorized its undue exercise, and themselves invited its worst excesses.

From what apprehensions, we know not; but, probably, from serious apprehensions of fresh tumults, Henry had demolished the castles of the late principal rebels in England and Normandy; and, still better to secure the continuance of peace, he had taken into his hands even the fortresses of those, who had never forfeited his favor, and garrisoned them with his own troops". The measure was arbitrary, though attempted, it seems, by the advice of his council! — And in March news came, that

1177.

" Gerv. Hoveden.

" Hoveden.

BOOK ambassadors from Alphonso, his son-in-law, king
III. of Castille, and Sanchez, king of Navarre, were
1177. arrived in his kingdom, to lay before him a
 controverfy, which had long divided those
 princes, and distressed their people. It regarded
 territories, forcibly usurped on both sides.
 Henry assembled his great council at West-
 minster; before which the royal messengers
 appeared, attended by advocates to state the
 controverfy, and to plead. Two Spanish cham-
 pions had also come, to wait the issue of the
 trial, armed at all points, and prepared to enter
 the lists, should Henry ordain a combat. The
 pleas being reduced to writing, and interpreted,
 the council weighed the respective claims, and
 the gospels were produced. On them the
 ambassadors swore, that their masters should
 stand to the award of the English monarch, or
 themselves would surrender their persons to his
 power. Sentence was pronounced. It was;
 That as neither party denied the usurpations,
 alledged by the other to have been committed,
 the king and court decreed, that a full restitution
 should be made on both sides".

Agreeably to the fashion of the day, the earl
 of Flanders now came to pray at the tomb of

⁷⁰ Hoveden. Gervas. 1177.

Becket, previously to his departure for Palestine. Henry, as the terms of his reconciliation promised, had intimated an intention of accompanying the earl; but the concerns of his own government detained him. He sent money, however; and the earl, with many barons and knights, from this and other countries, departed.

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1177.

Strongbow was dead; and the king had appointed William Fitz-Aldelm his successor in the lieutenancy of Ireland. But disorders continued, and the English had invaded Ulster and Connaught. Henry was now sensible, that more strength must be given to the Irish government; and he purposed to invest one of his sons with it, to be held, under himself and his heirs, as a great hereditary fief. Yet John, the son of his choice, was an infant. In a council at Oxford, therefore, he declared his intention, (which the Roman bishop had also sanctioned,) and he made such new settlements of lands and honors, in Ireland, on many of his nobles, as should induce them to protect his present territories, till John might be of age to assume the reins of government. For these grants, homage was done to prince John and to himself". —

" Hoveden. Girald. Camb.

BOOK

III.

1177.

Thus was he employed, when a messenger arrived to inform him, that a cardinal legate was in France, with a mandate from his holiness, to put all his dominions under an interdict, unless he permitted his son Richard to marry the princess Adelaïs, whom, as designed for that prince, he had long had in his custody. Henry interposed an appeal to Rome, and passed into Normandy.

That the English monarch was himself in love with Adelaïs, there are strong reasons to suspect. Though marriageable, he still detained her in his court, and he had lately applied for a divorce from Eleanor. Louis, her father, it was, who, alarmed, probably, by the suspicious circumstances, now interfered, and implored the aid of Rome. The kings met at Ivry, in the presence of the legate, where Henry, by an artful policy, consented, that the match should be celebrated; but on terms of the surrender of Bourges to Richard, and of the French Vexin to the young king, with which Louis could not comply. The affair ended, and Adelaïs remained unmarried. Notwithstanding, a treaty of amity was then concluded, wherein the kings swear to take the cross, and together to proceed to Jerusalem, under the solemn stipulation, that each will defend, to the utmost of his power, the person,

dignity, and dominions of the other²². Palestine, **BOOK**
indeed, then loudly called for succour. **III.**

In this year, closed the schism, which the **1177.**
emperor Frederic had so long upheld. **Frederic de-**
Four years before, with a formidable army, he had **feated by the**
entered Italy, the fifth time, and having taken **Lombards,**
some towns on his march, he beleaguered **puts an end**
Alexandria, the name of which alone insulted **to the schism.**
all his pride. The confederates were prepared
to receive him; and the new town, though sur-
rounded only by a deep ditch, presented against
his machines the noble spirit of freemen, well
trained to arms, and amply supplied with pro-
visions. The first attacks were vain; when the
rains began to fall, and the plains were inundated.
But Barbarossa would not move. It was the
month of October, and he resolved to pass
the winter in his tents. The winter proved re-
markably severe; and when spring returned,
he saw that disease and desertion had greatly
thinned his army. Still he persisted, trusting much,
for success, to a mine, which, unperceived by
the enemy, he had carried towards the town.
At this time, notice was given to the distant
confederacy, that the provisions of the besieged
began to fail. Instantly a powerful army marched

²² Gervas. Hoveden.

B O O K to their relief, and advanced within ten miles
III. of the German camp. The situation of Frederic
1177. was perilous: he had recourse, therefore, to
the stratagem, we saw practised at Rouen, and,
it being Thursday before easter, proclaimed a
suspension of arms till the following Monday.
In the silence of the night, two hundred chosen
men entered the subterraneous passage, while
Frederic, with his army, approached towards a
gate, which soon, they expected, would be
opened to them. The mine succeeded; but an
alarm was given, and the citizens seizing their
arms, in a moment, massacred the few who had
entered. They did more. In their just fury,
they threw open the gates, and rushed upon
the enemy. The unexpected sally disconcerted
the enemy. They fled; and Frederic, after having
beheld the carnage of his men, the storming of
his camp, and the burning of his own pavilion,
himself set fire to the remaining engines, and
precipitately retired. It was his intention, it
seems, to gain Pavia; but the confederates faced
him, and presented battle. In both armies,
fortunately, there were men, to whom the
effusion of blood was a scene of horror. These,
at the critical moment, interfered, and an ac-
commodation was effected, on the vague terms
that the rights of the empire should be preserved

inviolable, on one side, and on the other, the freedom of the confederates. The partiality of the German historians, on this and other occasions, is glaring; but it will appear, how insincere was their emperor in the admission of a treaty, which the circumstances of his situation only forced upon him ⁷³.

The remainder of the year was spent in useless negotiations for a general peace, during which time, the imperial agents were secretly employed, in collecting an army, that might be ready to join Frederic, by the end of winter. With a suspicious eye the Lombards watched every motion, and easily penetrated the base design. Again they bound themselves, by a solemn oath, to stand or fall together; and news was brought, that the German army was in motion, headed by the archbishops of Magdeburgh and Cologne. They entered Italy by the lake of Como, when Frederic joined them. But though the army was numerous and well-appointed, he saw with pain, that Henry the Lion, duke of Saxony, whose aid he had implored, and on whom he most relied, was not with them. From Como they advanced on the road to Pavia, meaning to join the troops, that Frederic

BOOK

III.

1177.

⁷³ Murat, an. 1175.

BOOK

III.

1177.

had left in that neighbourhood. But the confederates, whom it behoved to impede this junction, had already marched, with the *Carroccio*, (the sacred standard of Milan,) and they had halted between the Texin and Legnano. Soon the vanguards skirmished; which was the prelude to a memorable day, that must for ever ennoble the annals of Lombardy, and which Milan annually celebrates. It was a Saturday, and the twenty-ninth of May. I shall not recount its carnage, nor its heroic deeds. Suffice it to say, that the Germans, overpowered by the tremendous phalanx, which embosomed the *carroccio*, finally gave way; and Lombardy was victorious. Frederic, whose single arm had achieved wonders, in the fury of the conflict, fell headlong from his horse, and was seen no longer. The butchery which ensued was great; the Texin devoured many; but more were taken prisoners. The whole plunder of the camp remained to the victors, and with it the emperor's military chest. He, in vain, was sought for amongst the dead. Days passed; and the empress, who had remained at Como, put on mourning. But, having escaped from the field, Frederic had prudently absconded; and when no longer looked for, he suddenly appeared in Pavia, in health and

unwounded; but without troops or any resource of war⁷⁴. BOOK
III.

It is with pleasure that I see the tyrant humbled by men, who fought for liberty: and now it was, that he could listen, with a forced sincerity, to the advice of friends. They advised him to make peace, while the allies, perhaps, might be disposed to hearken to a treaty. Hereon, ambassadors were sent to Alexander, whom they found at Anagni.—“Peace,” said the pontiff to them, “has ever been my wish; but now I can receive no proposals, which shall not be grateful to my allies.” These were the king of Sicily and the confederated Lombards. A private negociation, however, was opened, which, after many discussions, finally settled the mutual claims of the imperial court and the Roman see. But those of the confederates, in the absence of the parties, could not be agitated: Alexander himself, therefore, consented to remove towards Lombardy, that his presence might give vigor to the operations for peace⁷⁵. 1177.

But many months passed in other adjustments, and it was March in the present year, before the pontiff with his cardinals, and two commissioners from his Sicilian majesty, embarked

⁷⁴ Murat. an. 1176.

⁷⁵ Act. Alex. an. 1176.

BOOK on board eleven gallies, furnished by that
 III. prince, in the port of Viesi. They sailed through
 1177. the Adriatic gulph; and, on the twenty-third,
 landing at Venice, were conducted in solemn
 pomp, to the palace of the patriarch. Still
 difficulties intervened; to obviate which, and to
 settle the place of conference, Alexander went
 to Ferrara. The deputies from Lombardy here
 met him, and an interview took place, at which
 the manly and sufficient spirit of the republicans
 was pleasingly contrasted with the pious effu-
 sions, the insinuating policy, and the clerical
 demeanour of the Roman bishop. When he
 exhibited his attachment to their cause, by
 reciting the fatigues and the perils of a journey,
 to which he had been exposed; they smiled,
 and recounted the wars they had maintained,
 and the battles they had fought. "With grati-
 tude," said they, "we accept the peace,
 " which is offered to us, and the imperial
 " favor. He shall possess the rights which are
 " his due, and which Italy never controverted:
 " but the liberty, our forefathers entailed upon
 " us, we will not relinquish, but with our
 " lives ". — Soon came the imperial ministers,
 with whom, for many days, a dispute,

⁷⁶ Romual. Salern. relat. apud Baron.

concerning the place of conference, was warmly agitated. It was finally agreed to meet at Venice, to which place they all repaired.

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Many pages could not relate the process of the conference, on the affairs of Lombardy, while neither side would recede from their pretensions. Alexander was aware of the interminable discussion, and proposed a truce of six years; which was accepted, though reluctantly, by the Lombards. With Rome all had been previously adjusted; and a peace of fifteen years was settled with Sicily. Then was Frederic, who impatiently had waited at some distance, permitted to enter Venice, having solemnly pledged himself to subscribe to the terms of peace.

As he approached, on the twenty-fourth of July, a deputation of cardinals was sent to meet him; while the pontiff with a vast train, proceeded to the metropolitan church of St. Mark. The deputies absolved Frederic and his attendants from the excommunication, they had incurred; when the doge of Venice, and the patriarch, and the nobles, and the clergy of the city, advancing in their gondolas, received the emperor, and conducted him to St. Mark's. Before the gates sat Alexander, surrounded by his dignitaries, attired in their respective dresses. Frederic descended from his gondola, and

B O O K coming forward on foot, as he approached,
III. threw aside his mantle, and fell prostrate at the
1177. pontiff's feet. He raised him from the ground; he wept, embraced, and blessed him: at which the Germans, in a thundering peal, entoned the *Te Deum*, and the emperor, taking hold of the pope's hand, advanced by his side to the choir, where he again bowed his head, and receiving a second blessing, withdrew to the ducal palace⁷⁷.

Early, the next morning, at his request, the pope celebrated mass, at which Frederic assisted; and having kissed his holiness's feet, and made his offering, they retired hand in hand. The white palfrey was at the gates, which as the pontiff mounted, Barbarossa held the opposite stirrup; and, with his hand on the reins, was proceeding to attend him, when Alexander graciously released him from the office. Some days were then spent in visits and friendly intercourse: and on the first of August, the peace with Rome and Sicily, and the truce with the Lombards, were solemnly ratified.—The numerous assembly met in the hall of the patriarchal palace. At the bottom, in the middle, sat Alexander, with the cardinals and prelates on each side;

⁷⁷ Romual. Salern. relat. apud Baron.

and above them, on the right hand, was Frederic, and on the left, the Sicilian minister. The pontiff rose, and in a discourse, well adapted to the occasion, expressed his joy, and the joy of the universal church.—Then rose Frederic. He laid aside his mantle, and spoke in the German tongue, while his chancellor interpreted. He acknowledged the error he had been in, seduced, he said, by bad counsels; he thanked God for the grace which had reclaimed him; he renounced the schism; he received Alexander for his lawful bishop; and he presented peace to the king of Sicily and to the Lombards. — Acclamations rent the air. The gospels were brought forward, with the relics of saints, and a part of the true cross; over which, at the command of the emperor, Henry count of Dieffia stretched his arm, and swore on the soul of Frederic, that he would maintain the articles of peace, as covenanted, for ever with the church, fifteen years with Sicily, and six with Lombardy. Twelve princes of the empire then swore the same. In like manner, Romuald, archbishop of Salerno, whose narration I copy, the Sicilian envoy, swore for his master; and then the commissioners from Lombardy. It is remarkable, that the emperor did not swear in person. In another meeting, anathemas were

BOOK
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BOOK pronounced against those, who should violate
III. the peace; and the parties departed, Alexander
1178. to Anagni, and Frederic towards the confines of
 Burgundy⁷⁸. — Thus closed the schism; for
 though the antipope, Calixtus, still resided at
 Viterbo, his adherents left him, and the christian
 world obeyed Alexander.

The Vandois
 or Albigenes.

In the history of man, his errors, or as, more
 properly, perhaps they may be called, his endless
 pursuits in quest of religious truth, form a great
 feature which must not be neglected. That
 feature, in all its variety, might be viewed with
 pleasure, were it unattended by a concomitant
 imagery, from which the mind recoils with
 horror. Deviation from *orthodoxy* (which itself,
 in the language of men, has varied, as modes of
 thinking, and even as human policy, has varied)
 never comes forward, without the implements
 of oppression, in the near ground, and often of
 blood. — Two years before, in a provincial
 synod at Alby, certain opinions had been cen-
 sured, which were become popular in the southern
 parts of France. Some of them had originated
 with Peter Valdo, a rich merchant of Lyons,
 and others came from the Manicheans, sectaries
 who, driven from the east, had widely spread

⁷⁸ Act. Alex. Romual. Salern. an. 1177.

their doctrines in many countries of the western church. The men, I speak of, were called *Vaudois* or *Waldenses* from Peter Valdo; they were also called the *poor* or *good men* of Lyons, from their contempt of riches, and the air of piety they wore; and soon they were distinguished by other appellations, the most general of which was that of *Albigenses*, from the town of Albi. As yet, I believe, they had no settled creed: but the admission of *two principles*, essentially distinct, one the author of all good, the other of all evil, however mysteriously expressed, marked them, at this time, for the legitimate descendants of the proscribed sect of Manes. They were condemned, as I said, at Albi; and it appeared, though they refused to speak openly, that they rejected the books of the old testament, as the Manicheans did; that they denied the efficacy of infant baptism; that they held that every good man could consecrate the eucharist; that they deemed marriage unlawful, which was a Manichean tenet; and that the priesthood had no peculiar powers, which other good men had not. But they were full and explicit in their invectives against the riches and the vain parade of churchmen; and unasked, one principle they proclaimed, in which they remained steady and invariable, that, agreeably to the gospels and

BOOK

III.

1178.

BOOK the epistle of St. James, *it was never lawful to*
 III. *swear.* Alarmed at the approach of the sentence,
 1178. which now threatened, the *good men* turned to the people who were round, and publicly delivered a profession of faith, which, they declared, was their belief, clear and orthodox in all its articles. This declaration they were asked to confirm by an oath: "No," said they, "we will not swear." Sentence, on this, was pronounced, which declared them heretics; but no other rigors were used".

But, in the present year, Raymond, earl of Toulouse, excited a general alarm, by the frightful picture his zealous pencil drew, of the spread of heresy in Languedoc, and of its baleful influence. All orders of men, he said, were infected; the priests had drunk the poison, and their altars were deserted. He holds, indeed, he says, one of the two swords, but he dares not use it: if the king of France will come to his aid, he will open the cities to him: he will put the villages and castles under his rod; he will point out the heretics to him; and, to the effusion of his blood, he will assist him to crush the enemies of Christ. Thus wrote the pious Raymond

" Hoveden. an. 1176. Reiner. ap. Nat. Alex. et alii.

to the abbot and general chapter of Cîteaux⁸⁰. — Both Louis and Henry heard the report with emotion, and they resolved to attempt, in person, the expulsion of the heretics from the country. But reflection suggested better means: it told them, rather to send missionaries who might preach the truth, and reclaim the misinformed from error. The cardinal legate, who was in France, went; and with him two archbishops, and the bishops of Bath and Poitiers, and the abbot of Clairvaux, and a numerous train of churchmen. Yet, alas! also Raymond himself and other powerful lords were commissioned to aid the missionaries, and to execute their mandates.

At Toulouse, the seat of the disorder, Peter Moran, an aged gentleman, of high connexion, great wealth, and a distinguished citizen, was brought before them. He was at the head of the sect, and though a layman, was their teacher and their guide. Accused of heresy, he sighed, and denied the charge. Would he confirm his denial, they asked him, by an oath? — “I am an honest and an honorable man,” he replied, “and should be credited on my simple affirmation.” They pressed him; when

⁸⁰ Gerv. chron.

BOOK he finally consented, and swore that he
 III. would answer with truth, to all their questions.

1178. What was his belief, they then asked, in the holy sacrament? — “I believe,” said he, that the consecrated bread is *not* the body of our lord.” — They heard the assertion with tears, and inquiring no further, condemned him of heresy; and the count, receiving him from their hands, committed him to the public prison. The retraction of his errors which ensued, and the ignominies he suffered before the people, I shall not describe. Suffice it, that he was reconciled to the church; but his possessions were confiscated, and he was ordered, for the expiation of his guilt, within forty days, to set out for Jerusalem, and there to remain for three years[”].

Others were apprehended, among whom were two teachers. They appeared before the commissioners, with a profession of faith, written in the language of the country, which they read. Required to explain some ambiguous expressions, they did it; and it appeared, that their belief was orthodox. They denied the doctrine of two principles, and other opinions with which they had been charged. Before the people, in

[”] Ep. Hen. Clavall. ap. Hoveden.

a fuller assembly, they again read their belief, with a declaration, that they had never taught otherwise; when Raymond of Toulouse and others in the face of the meeting, charged them with falshood. They had heard them preach, they said, that there were two Gods, one good, the other evil; that the first had made all invifible things, and fuch as are not liable to change or corruption: and that the other was the author of the heavens, the earth, and man, and of things vifible. Other witneſſes aſſerted, that they had heard from their mouths each particular opinion, which the ſect was known to profeſs. The commiſſioners then offered the trying queſtion; with which they refuſed to comply, ſaying, it was unlawful to ſwear. They were excommunicated; the people were commanded to ſeparate from them; and the lords of the country bound themſelves by oath, to give no protection to them or their abettors. But they had obtained a ſafe-conduct, before they came to Toulouse, which empowered them to withdraw without further moleſtation ³².

On the tenets and conduct of theſe men, the reader will make his own reflections. That they diſſembled, is manifeſt; and that ſome of

³² Ep. Pet. Card. ap. Hoveden.

BOOK their opinions were strictly Manichean, is not
III. less so: but as their doctrines, as it generally
 happens, did not pass the line of theory, (for
 their lives, it seems, were inoffensive,) the
 alarms of Raymond, the civil magistrate, were
 groundless, and his zeal transgressed order. The
 tenet of the Vaudois, which forbade them to
swear, gave them a marked resemblance to a
 modern society; and if protestants, in general,
 claim affinity with them, why may not that
 society, with equal propriety, alledge, that the
good, if not the *poor*, men of Lyons were their
 progenitors? The circumstance of Manicheism
 must, on neither side, debase the pedigree. The
 best blood is seldom uniformly noble.

1179. The Romans, whose aversion to the civil
 jurisdiction of their bishop had long kept him
 at a distance from them, on the extinction of
 the schism, voluntarily invited him to return.
 He returned; but on conditions which were
 honorable to Alexander: That the senators,
 when elected, should do homage to him; that
 the church of St. Peter, which he had seized,
 and the rights of a sovereign, should be sur-
 rendered to him; and that they should bind
 themselves by oath to observe the peace in-
 violably, and the articles of convention thus
 stipulated. — The antipope also, deserted by

those, who had made him the pageant of an expiring schism, himself waited on Alexander; at his feet confessing his guilt, and imploring forgiveness. The benevolent pontiff kindly raised him from the ground, and forgave him: he even retained him near his person, and in the confidence of an unsuspecting heart, committed to him the government of Beneventum³¹. If Alexander was humane and generous, so also was the character of Calixtus not commonly meritorious, which could challenge from his adversary so amiable a display of virtue.

In the possession of all the power, which the triple crown could give, Alexander, with a view to correct the abuses which the disorders of the schism, or rather the common passions of men, had caused or strengthened, convoked at Rome a general council of the christian world. Summons were sent into every kingdom, and the bishops hastened to attend. But it was found that they, whom neither zeal nor the love of dissipation prompted to the journey, could be released, by money, from the pressing obligation. The discovery, says a historian, gave occasion to suspect, that Roman avarice, not the love of

BOOK
III.
1179.

Third coun-
cil of Laterane

³¹ Romuald. Salern. ap. Baron.

BOOK order, had projected the whole measure⁸⁴.

III. Many prelates, from Ireland and Scotland,

1179. obeyed the summons, and passing through England to obtain leave from Henry, took an oath, that they would devise no evil against the king or his realm. The annual revenue of one of these Irish prelates, was but the milk of three cows, with which the people of his diocese regularly supplied him. From England went only four bishops; for it was the privilege of their church, they insisted, to send no more⁸⁵.

— When the council opened in the church of Lateran, on the third of March, there were present three hundred bishops, of whom a hundred and sixty were from Italy, and other ecclesiastics innumerable. On an elevated throne was seated the sovereign pontiff, and near him were the cardinals, the prefects, the senators, and the consuls of Rome. They assembled on three days, and framed seven-and-twenty canons. The council is called the third of Lateran.

Were I to transcribe its statutes, all of which appertain to discipline, it would appear, I think, even to the prejudiced man, that the

⁸⁴ Neubrig. l. iii. c. 2.

⁸⁵ Hoveden. an. 1179.

framers of them understood the genuine spirit of christian order, and were zealous to maintain it. Without palliation, they expose the excesses of churchmen, and they prescribe a remedy. They fix a mature age to the exercise of the prelacy, and of inferior offices, pointing out the qualifications which alone should recommend to them; and they strive to check the ostentation of the wealthy. They condemn the frequency of appeals, and every simoniacal practice which had debased religion. To the ministers of the altar they forbid the occupations of the bar, and the charge of civil offices; they proscribe plurality of benefices, and strictly enjoin residence; and if sometimes they trench on the limits of the temporal jurisdiction, it is much less than, in the undefined state of things, might have been naturally expected. If the age then was depraved, it arose not from ignorance in the teachers, or from any want of an exact and provident legislation: but energy failed in the executive department, while the manners of the great, a dissolute and martial aristocracy, widely diffused an intemperance of life, and led their vassals into a participation of their crimes, and a heedless disregard of laws, the object of which was a domestic and unoffending morality.—I must not omit to mention, that the first canon ordains,

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in the future election of popes, that, when the cardinals are not unanimous in their choice, it shall be carried by two thirds of the votes. By the twentieth, tournaments, in which the lives of the combatants were exposed, are forbidden: by the twenty-third, wherever the lepers are sufficiently numerous to live in community, they are permitted to have a church, a cemetery, and a minister, for their own use: and by the last canon, the heretics of Languedoc, whom I described, are anathematized, with an extension of the same sentence to those, who should harbour them in their houses, or presume to traffic with them. With more equity, a similar sentence is pronounced against the Brabanters, or a lawless banditti under different names, who ravaged many provinces of Europe. But in this canon, a marked line is drawn between the two powers. The secular arm, it says, may use the sword in aid of the church, while the church only exercises her spiritual jurisdiction towards the suppression of error⁸⁶. Unfortunately this jurisdiction reached to every thing, but the effusion of blood; and they did not see the absurd departure from obvious equity.

⁸⁶ Hoveden. Fleury. Nat. Alex.

From the last year, Henry had been in England. At Woodstock he knighted his son Geoffrey, who was emulous of his brothers glory, than whom no champions in the lists possessed more prowess, or whose feats in arms shone brighter. These exercises, which, we have just seen, the milder spirit of the church censured, were deemed a necessary prelude to the art of war. For the youth, says the historian, who has seen his own blood; whose teeth have rattled from the gauntlet; who, unhorfed, has grappled with the adversary; nor from being foiled has desponded, but has risen more fierce, the oftener he had touched the earth; he, when the trumpet calls to war, with a full heart will meet the public enemy". — Young Henry, particularly, patronized the amusement, which his example animated, and his princely munificence ennobled. He was nearly three years in France, for that was the seat of chivalry, engaged in perpetual conflicts, and sometimes, as a private knight, entering the lists, and bearing off, unknown, the palm of honor. But Richard, though as fond of the martial sport as he, was generally busied with his barons in Aquitaine in serious warfare, sometimes, doubtless, provoked, but oftener,

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1179.

Events in
England.

" Hoveden.

B O O K

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by his petulance, provoking the wayward barons, to arms. When Geoffrey had received his sword, instantly he crossed into Normandy, and on the French frontier held a tournament, in which his young arm proved him worthy of the fellowship of his elder brothers⁴⁸. — If the frequent use and celebrity of these combats gave too warlike a cast to the manners of the age; also were they calculated to rouse the nobler passions of the mind, fortitude, generosity, and even benevolence; for soon it became the glory, as it was the duty, of the champion, to protect the innocent, to uphold the helpless, and to vindicate the sacred rights of truth and equity.

In this year, Henry lost his faithful minister, Richard de Lucy. Finding his end near, he had retired to a convent, which himself had built on his own estate, and had richly endowed; and there, having taken the habit of the order, he died within a few weeks. This, while religious orders were held in estimation, was no uncommon practice; and when the motive was sincere, as often surely it was, how unfair is he, who can see nothing in the measure, but bigotry and weak superstition! The silence of a convent, with its hours of prayer and

⁴⁸ Diceto. Hoveden.

meditation is well adapted to him, who has to make his peace with heaven; and the man of the world, whose days had passed in the dissipating scenes of politics and war, in the evening of life sought the cloister, wherein he could bury his cares, and prepare for another world. Weak minds would place too much confidence, I know, in the outward garb of penitence; but where is the holy practice that such minds will not pervert? Within the walls of convents, at that time, dwelled many virtues; for the king, I observe, as well as the prelates, watched their conduct with a jealous eye, and often, when complaints were made, not only reprimanded the refractory and the dissolute, but even expelled them from their cloisters, and sometimes called over from abroad persons of more exemplary conduct to occupy their houses.

When Richard de Lucy was dead, the king, in a council at Windsor, dissatisfied, probably, with the late arrangement, divided the kingdom into four districts, appointing five justices or judges over each, at the head of whom, in all but the northern division, were three bishops. They were not to make circuits, it appears, as it was before settled; but to reside in the king's court, and there hear the causes which would be brought up from their respective districts. Nothing

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more evinces the unsettled state of government, than that changes, of such importance to the subject, should have been made so rapidly. Complaints, indeed, must have been reported of mal-practices; for, on the new list of judges, I find only one retained, out of the eighteen who had been nominated, three years before". — The appointment of the bishops to these civil offices, was contrary to the canons of the late council; and his holiness complained. But the archbishop of Canterbury justified the measure, showing the great advantage it was of to the church and to the people". — It is worth remarking, that the three bishops, thus honored by their master, were Richard of Ivelchester promoted to Winchester, Geoffrey Riddel of Ely, and John of Oxford now bishop of Norwich, all conspicuous agents in the controversy with Becket.

While Henry was thus usefully busied, he received a letter from the French monarch, requesting his permission to visit the shrine of Becket. The occasion was. — After the example of his predecessors, he had purposed to crown his son Philip, a youth of fourteen years, and

" Hoveden. Diceto.

" Pet. Bles. ep. 84.

was proceeding to Rheims, the place of coronation, when the prince, on a hunting-party, was lost in the forest of Compiègne. He wandered all the night, but the fatigue, and more than that, the gloomy terrors of the woods, brought on a dangerous fever. Louis, whose mind was ever religious, turned to heaven for relief; and as the patronage of his late friend, the martyr of Canterbury, was the theme of universal admiration, he resolved, in person, to implore his aid. Henry could not oppose the pious measure; and the king, contrary to the advice of his ministers, with a numerous train embarking at Whitland, landed, the same day, at Dover. Here Henry, who had ridden all night, met him, and conducted him to Canterbury. At Canterbury the prelates of the realm, and the nobles, were ready to receive him. The anxious parent hastened to the tomb, where he spent the night in prayer; and, the next day, having presented a chalice of great value, and settled on the monks of Christ-church, an annual revenue of a hundred measures (*modios*) of French wine, in perpetuity, with an exemption from all duties, on whatever should be purchased in his realm, for their own use, he departed, and landed safe in France. Now he heard, that Philip was recovered. But himself soon after

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that going to St. Denys, was stricken by a palsy, which threatened to lay him with his ancestors, in that awful repository of human greatness. The event accelerated the coronation of the prince. He was crowned, on the feast of All Saints; and young Henry, as duke of Normandy, walked in the procession, bearing the imperial diadem of France, and what was remarkable, he supported it with his hands over the head of the prince, lest its too great weight might oppress his infant brows²¹. Louis was too ill to attend the ceremony.

In France and
Germany.

But, very soon, a serious misunderstanding arose in the French court. The young king took for his adviser, the earl of Flanders, now returned from Palestine, his godfather, manifesting a marked disregard to his mother and his uncles, who, till now, had possessed an unbounded sway. They retired in disgust, and implored the interference of Henry. Philip, with a manly independence, pursued his own wishes; and to convince the house of Champagne, that he should not submit to their control, he married Elizabeth of Hainault, niece to his favorite earl. With her also he chose to be crowned, a second time, and that by the arch-

²¹ Hoveden. Diceto.

bishop of Sens, in despite of cardinal William of Rheims, his uncle, to whose see the right of coronation appertained. In compliance with the request, which had been made to them, the two Henrys sailed to Normandy, whither the queen, with other malecontents, came. They gave hostages, and swore they would be guided by the advice of the English monarchs; and on this, an army was raised, which, in the spirit of chivalry, or from motives less honorable, Henry meant to lead into the territories of France, to revenge the injuries, it was said, which the young king had offered to his mother and his uncles. The youth, aided by the advice of his noble friend, hearing of the design, himself marched his troops to the confines of Normandy. But a conference was proposed, and accepted. They met near Gisors, the politic and experienced Henry, and Philip, a boy in his fifteenth year! The particulars of the conference have not transpired: we only know, that Henry sometimes threatened, and sometimes soothed, till the young king finally consented to restore his mother and her family to his favor, to allow her a revenue, competent with her rank; and, at his father's death, to put her in full possession of her dowry, retaining in his own hands the castles, which belonged to the estates.—

BOOK
III.
1180.

BOOK And, soon after, died the old king, having
III. reigned more than forty years. — Another
1180. interview then took place, in which the federal treaty of Ivry, for the mutual protection of both kingdoms, was solemnly renewed between the two monarchs ⁹². — Already must Henry have discovered, that, if himself, perhaps, should not soon have reason to regret the loss of the easy and unambitious Louis, France, at least, possessed a prince, who would know her interest, and would maintain it.

In Germany, to which Frederic had returned, happened also a momentous revolution. He bore vengeance in his mind against Henry the Lion, duke of Saxony, whom he viewed as the author of his late misfortunes. He had entreated his aid, when the affairs of Lombardy were most pressing: this aid he had refused, and Europe had witnessed the disgrace, which had fallen on the German name. The princes of the empire he instigated to accuse him; and accusing him himself of treason and of conspiracy with the enemy, he cited him to appear before three successive diets. Henry despised the summons; and when Frederic offered to compromise the dispute for the sum of five thousand marks in

⁹² Hoveden. Chron. Norman. an. 1180.

silver, the proud prince disdainfully refused the compromise. With eagerness, then, the states seized the occasion of humbling a man, whose power was formidable; and as again he neglected to appear, when summoned to a fourth diet at Wurzburg, they condemned him of contumacy, of treason against his sovereign lord; and all his territories were declared to be forfeited. The fatal sentence was executed with a minute severity, after two diets had assembled to ascertain the exact limits of the dismemberment. The duchies of Saxony, of Bavaria, of Angaria, and Westphalia, with all their dependencies, and the many fiefs he had held of the empire, were parcelled out, and distributed among the great German houses. Henry resisted the proscription: he pleaded the illegality of the sentence, and he exerted the small strength, which a few friends could give him. The combination against him was more than ever powerful, and from the strongest motives, more than ever active. He was permitted to see the emperor; and before a diet at Erfort, he humbled himself, and he labored to justify his conduct, and to excuse his former contumacy. He was scarcely heard, and not an acre of land could be recovered. His father-in-law, Henry of England, and the French monarch, interceded for him. Little was

B O O K obtained. But his wife's dower, the opulent
III. cities of Brunswick and Luneburgh, with the
 adjacent territory, were guaranteed to that
 princess; and if the duke would exile himself,
 for three years, from Germany, on his return,
 it was promised, that he should be permitted,
 to possess those cities. With his family he
 withdrew into Normandy⁹³. — The illustrious
 house, that now sits on the imperial throne of
 Britain, is descended from this Henry the Lion,
 duke of Saxony.

1181.
Other occur-
rences.

But little now calls for notice. Europe,
 indeed, was hourly alarmed with melancholy
 news from Palestine; and Alexander signalized
 his last days, in attempting to rekindle the zeal
 of the western world. Henry and young Philip,
 between whom now subsisted a seeming friend-
 ship, discussed the weighty subject, and seemed
 well disposed. It might be, perhaps, with a
 view to this undertaking, (to which the reader
 will recollect, Henry was in conscience pledged,)
 that he commanded all his subjects abroad to
 purchase arms and armour, according to their
 condition, and which, remaining in the family,
 should descend to the next heir. Philip and
 the earl of Flanders admired the regulation,

⁹³ Murat. Pfeffel, Hist. d'Allem. p. 335.

and published a similar ordinance. The arrangement of Henry was, that every man, possessing a hundred pounds of Angevin money, in chattels, should provide himself with a horse and a complete suit of armour; every man, having forty, or thirty, or twenty-five pounds, at least, of the same money, in chattels, to have an habergeon, (coat of mail,) a scull-cap of iron, a lance, and a sword; and all other men to have a wambais, (quilted jacket,) a scull-cap of iron, a lance, and sword, or, a bow and arrows". — Coming to England, soon afterwards, he established a like regulation, with that difference, which the military habits of the two kingdoms might require. Here he ordained that:

1. Every possessor of one knight's fee shall have a coat of mail, (*lorica*,) a helmet, a shield, and a lance: and every knight shall have as many coats of mail, helmets, shields, and lances, as he has knight's fees on his domain. — 2. Every free layman, who has, in chattels or rent, to the value of sixteen marks, shall have the same arms, as above. — 3. Every free layman, having ten marks, in chattels or rent shall have an habergeon, a scull-cap of iron, and a lance, (pike or spear.) — 4. And all burghesses, and

⁹⁴ Hoveden. an. 1181

B O O K

III.

1181.

the whole community of freemen, shall have a wambais, a scull-cap of iron and a lance. — The arms of the knight were those of the heavy horseman, and the others were carried by the foot.

The king's justices were ordered to go into every county, and, by the most exact researches, to ascertain the number of those, whom the statute regarded; all of whom, under severe penalties, were to be provided with their arms, by the feast of St. Hilary⁹⁵. — No reason is assigned for this extraordinary measure, the policy of which, in a nation too prone to rebel against their sovereign; is not obvious; and the expense fell heavy on the indigent. "The unskilful peasants," says a historian, "used to the spade and mattock, now gloried reluctantly in the soldier's arms⁹⁶." Nor is it said, that the aristocracy even of the nation was consulted, as usual, in any public meeting, on this general concern; but the historian observes that the king ordained the statute.

And, in this year, died Alexander, for learning, firmness, and moderation, one of the greatest pontiffs, that had sitten in the chair of St. Peter. He was succeeded by Lucius III.

⁹⁵ Hoveden.

⁹⁶ Gervas.

cardinal-bishop of Ostia, a man far advanced in years, moderately learned, but of great experience in business. Agreeably to the late decree of the Lateran council, the cardinals now began to take to themselves the privilege of electing the Roman bishop; and the people and clergy, who hitherto had been consulted, were taught to retire from the conclave⁹⁷. — Now also died Roger, archbishop of York who has been often mentioned. His name comes down, with no praise, from the monkish chroniclers; nor, I believe, did he merit any; but to their order he was peculiarly hostile. His long life, say they, he spent in shearing, not in feeding, his flock; and to judge from the incredible sums he had amassed, the observation, probably, was not unfounded. Those sums, in his last sickness, he bequeathed to charitable and pious uses; but Henry, by a despotic act of prerogative, seized on the vast treasures, alledging, which was true, that the archbishop had himself procured a decree from Rome, which empowered him to seize the effects of any churchman, in his district, who should make a will on his death-bed. The king's agents, in their researches for this property, demanded

BOOK
III.
1181.

⁹⁷ Fleury, t. xv. p. 500.

BOOK three hundred marks from de Pusey, bishop of
III. Durham. "It is true," said he, "I received
 "so much from the hand of the archbishop,
 "and I have distributed it among the poor and
 "the afflicted, and in the repair of churches
 "and bridges, for the repose of his soul, as he
 enjoined me. He who wants it, may collect it.
 "I shall not." — I am sorry to add, that the
 manly, though not very courtly, reply greatly
 irritated Henry, who seized the bishop's castle,
 and commanded his officers to harass him by
 every possible severity⁹².

1182. The return of the queen-mother, with the
 house of Champagne, to the French court, had
 soon produced the effect, which it was natural
 to look for. The earl of Flanders saw his in-
 fluence decrease, and in disgust retired. But
 his absence did not bring back harmony. Ste-
 phen, count of Sancerre, one of the uncles,
 claimed some castles, and took them. Distrust,
 jealousy, and every bad passion, which haunt
 the court of princes, spread a general discontent;
 and Philip, in all the inexperience of youth,
 saw he could not confide, even in the ties of
 blood. He implored the advice of Henry; he
 took into his pay an army of Brabanters; and

⁹² Hoveden. Diceto. Neubrig.

being joined by the three English princes, he marched against the malecontents. Every where he was successful; and Henry coming into France, a general accommodation was effected. BOOK
III.

The restless spirit of young Henry again began to move; and he withdrew with his wife to the French court, demanding from his father, the surrender of Normandy, or of some other territory, where he might dwell, and support the dignity of a prince. It is said, that Philip ungratefully advised the measure. However, on receiving an increase of income, and the promise of a donative to a hundred knights of his household, he was satisfied, and returned to fresh oaths and fresh protestations of an unshaken allegiance". — The dependent circumstances of the prince ill accorded, it must be owned, with the imperial crown he wore; and though policy, perhaps, justified the arrangement, it was natural that his high spirit should, sometimes, recoil.

We are opening to a melancholy scene. The christmas of this year was kept at Caen, where Henry was with his three sons, and the duke of Saxony with his family, and a numerous attendance of prelates and nobles. These festivals, the reader will have observed, were then 1183.
Death of the
young king.

" Hoveden.

B O O K celebrated with much magnificence. As a proof
 III. of love, the king, before they parted, proposed
 1183. that Richard and Geoffry should do homage to
 their elder brother, for their dutchies of Aquitaine and Bretagne, as to their feudal lord. Geoffry complied; but Richard, either from pride of heart, or because, the French king being his sovereign in the fee, he conceived he owed no allegiance, at least, to his brother, refused to submit, and withdrawing into Poitou, prepared for hostilities. The violence of Richard's administration, in Aquitaine, had rendered him generally odious; and many barons, if he would support them, had, before this, offered themselves to young Henry, to become his liege-subjects. He now accepted their submission, and went into Aquitaine. At the same time, the turbulent Geoffry, ever ready to move at the call of discord, hired an army of Brabanters; and with them joining his elder brother and the malecontents, they proposed to expel Richard from the provinces, which they attempted by a general ravage of the country. Richard retaliated; but feeling the strength of the confederacy, he implored the aid of his father. His father beheld, with horror, the unnatural war, and he marched from Normandy, purposing, if possible, to obstruct its progress. The events

which, for some weeks, ensued, involved in obscurity, but too plainly blackened by the stain of the most debasing crimes, when the life of the father was, more than once, attempted, and the confederated brothers sometimes sued for peace, and then engaged in more desperate achievements, I shall not relate. The principal scene was before the strong castle of Limoges, which the enemy occupied. In a moment of false repentance, young Henry vowed to take the cross, and though opposed by his father in the rash resolution, he persisted; and some days after, plunged deeper in rebellion! By this time, the Brabanters were clamorous for pay. Geoffry, whom they served, entered the castle, where his friends were, and stripping the shrine of St. Martial of its silver-covering, and the convent of its plate, returned with the booty to his camp at some distance from the walls.

But now, by the command of pope Lucius, the archbishop of Canterbury, assembling many prelates and the clergy at Caen, pronounced a solemn anathema against all who disturbed the public peace, and who should obstruct its completion. Out of respect to the crown, young Henry only was not involved in the sentence. The measure did not break the confederacy; and the mercenaries again calling for pay, another

B O O K

III.

1183.

B O O K

III.

1183.

shrine and other churches were plundered. This the young king, though bearing the holy cross, effected. Henry, before this, had received a strong reinforcement of Spanish troops, brought by the king of Arragon; and it seems, he was determined to act with vigor against the enemy, who obstinately adhered to their resolution, not to submit to Richard. A battle was expected; when young Henry suddenly fell ill of a fever, and it soon appeared that he must die. In penitence of mind, he sent to his father, requesting he would come to him. Henry was dissuaded from the pious office, his friends alleging the danger, which might attend it, from the flagitious confederacy round the sick prince: wherefore, he took a ring from his finger, well known to his son, and, as a token of forgiveness, sent it to him. The prince kissed it: "Take
 " to my father," said he, "one request more;
 " that he will be merciful to the barons of
 " Aquitaine, and pay to my knights and servants
 " the wages due to them." Having privately confessed his sins, as some bishops and religious persons stood near him, he publicly acknowledged his guilt; and receiving absolution, delivered his cross into the hands of a friend, to be taken to Jerusalem. A piece of sackcloth, by his order, was then put round his body, and a

cord about his neck; "Thus," he said to the bishops near him, "I deliver myself to your ministry, an unworthy and guilty sinner, begging, that the Lord Jesus Christ, who showed mercy to the repentant thief, will, through your prayers and his own ineffable goodness, extend the like mercy to my unhappy soul." They answered, *Amen!* — And now," he continued, in a weaker voice, "draw me from my bed by this cord; and lay me on yon bed of ashes." — The ashes had been prepared. — His orders were executed; and they placed a large square stone under his head, and another under his feet. In this situation, he received the holy communion. "Let me be buried at Rouen," were his last words; soon after which he expired, in the twenty-ninth year of his age¹⁰⁰.

To say more of him is unnecessary. The contemporary writers represent him, as endowed with many amiable and brilliant qualities, such qualities as, unfortunately, in every age, will recommend a prince to the public favor. He was handsome, affable, munificent; and, as I have said, in all the prowess and feats of chivalry, expert and animated, dauntless and perseverant.

¹⁰⁰ Hoveden, Neubrig. Dicet. Gervas. an. 1183.

BOOK But his conduct to his father, heightened as it
III. was by incidental depravity, must draw a cloud
1183. over the false lustre of his character, through
 which, to a mind of just appreciation, no ray
 of greatness shall ever penetrate. — Henry, with
 parental fondness, bemoaned his loss; and as the
 corpse, shrowded in the linen garments he wore
 at his coronation, approached, borne on the
 shoulders of his fellow-soldiers, he met it, and
 weeping, saw the melancholy procession pass
 along. — They proceeded as far as Mans, on
 their way into Normandy, when the inhabitants
 and clergy of that city forcibly seized the body,
 and buried it, with funeral pomp, in their
 cathedral. There lay his grandfather, Geoffry
 Plantagenet. But the Normans remonstrated, and
 threatened to use force, if their just demands
 were not complied with. Henry then interfered,
 and the body being surrendered, it was carried
 to Rouen, and interred¹⁰¹.

The confederacy dissolved. Henry took the
 castle of Limoges, which he levelled with the
 ground; and the other castles of the rebellious
 barons were surrendered to him. Geoffry he
 pardoned; but he secured the fortresses of
 Bretagne by his own garrisons. Peace was

¹⁰¹ Hoveden, &c.

restored;

restored ; and as his son had requested , he showed mercy to his enemies. Richard was now heir to his father's dominions. — A dispute arose with Philip , concerning the dower of the young queen, his sister, which was amicably settled ; and Henry , in a public meeting , did homage to the French king, with some reluctance, it seems, for all his transmarine possessions , announcing , by the ceremony , that he held them himself immediately from Philip , and that his sons were mesne tenants or subvassals under him ¹⁰².

BOOK

III.

1183.

This year is rendered famous , in the annals of Italy , by the conclusion of a general peace between Frederic and the confederated Lombards. The truce of six years expired, when envoys from the allies waited on the emperor at Constance. Here the peace was signed , which gave liberty and all the rights of independence to them , the emperor reserving a nominal sovereignty , and some immunities of little value. The brave republicans celebrated the event , with uncommon festivity , and Italy , in its northern provinces , once more welcomed the return of freedom. But there were many towns , which had uniformly adhered to Frederic , preferring

Independence
of the Lom-
bards , and
other events.

¹⁰² Hoveden.

BOOK his smiles to the blessings of an independent
 III. security ¹⁰³.

1183. The reader has viewed the struggle, as I described it, perseverant, temperate, and manly; but a reflection, perhaps did not occur to him, which I will suggest. — Those men, descended, indeed, from a ferocious ancestry, who had made the western empire tremble, at the time I am describing, were parcelled out in distinct communities, guided by no peculiar policy, and in religion, adhering, in its several maxims, to that of Rome. Their bishops, and their clergy, bore a great sway, as where, at that time, did they not? Yet, in these circumstances, Lombardy fought for liberty, and deserved to gain it. The Roman bishop was their ally. Shall it then be said that, there is any thing in the spirit of that communion, hostile to liberty, hostile to the rights of man? And, at what time, had it existed, could its influence have been exerted with more success, than when ignorance, it is said, had spread its mantle over the human faculties, and the power of Rome was uncontrollable?

The fickle Romans, whose policy was contemptible, and whose conduct seemed to prove the truth of the observation, that a people, once

¹⁰³ Muratori, an. 1183.

degenerated, shall never rise again, had quarrelled with their bishop, though so recently reconciled to Alexander, and had driven him from their walls. The old pontiff, who knew their venal character, was aware, that no terms of accommodation would be accepted, which money did not strengthen; and he therefore requested aid from the christian kingdoms. Two nuncios came to Henry, who took the advice of the prelates and clergy of England; on the expediency of the measure. Their answer merits notice. "We request your Majesty," said they, "will send what subsidy you may deem most proper, for yourself and us. For we would much rather refund our contingent of the sum into your exchequer, than that agents from his holiness be permitted to come amongst us, on which a precedent may be founded injurious to the realm."¹⁰⁴ The patriotic resolution proves, that they felt no undue attachment to the see of Rome. A large sum was sent, with which, and other subsidies, Lucius purchased a temporary peace, from the mercenary citizens.

On the death of Richard, archbishop of Canterbury, in this year, a controversy, on the right of election, arose between the monks of

1184.

¹⁰⁴ Hovedens

B O O K Christ-church and the bishops of the diocese,
III. which the chroniclers detail with a tedious
1184. minuteness. Henry strove to conciliate the jar-
 ring factions, and in the attempt, exposed his
 royal dignity to the derision of both. In his
 transactions with the church, that manliness of
 conduct left him, which, on other occasions,
 was conspicuous. He promised, he flattered,
 he implored, with an unbecoming condescension;
 and then his mind was retrograde, and he
 broke through the tissue himself had formed.
 Baldwin bishop of Worcester, was finally elected,
 the man whom the king and the prelates pre-
 ferred¹⁰⁵.

During the contest, the duke of Saxony with
 his consort, was in England, magnificently
 entertained by Henry; and he was also visited
 by the archbishop of Cologne, the friend of the
 emperor, who, though practised to arms, and
 possessing little of the churchman's spirit, would
 not pass by the occasion of praying at the
 martyr of Canterbury's shrine. The earl of
 Flanders was with him. Of all the enemies to
 the duke of Saxony, the prelate I am speaking
 of, was the most inveterate. Henry, whose
 heart towards his friends was ever warm, in

¹⁰⁵ Gerv. Diceto. an. 1184.

showing him the most signal marks of attention, had a benevolent object in view. He proposed to him, to forget his enmity, and to be his son-in-law's friend. It was effected, and the parties met. This, however, is denied by other writers. — To proceed in this humane business, he likewise sent ministers to Verona, where the pope was holding a synod, and where Frederic also was, to beg the intercession of the former in favor of the unfortunate duke. The application was attended with success ¹⁰⁶.

BOOK
III.

Some affairs now called Henry to the north; but at Nottingham he was informed, that ambassadors from a distant kingdom had just landed in England, and waited his return. He returned, and met them at Reading. They were Heraclius, patriarch of Jerusalem, and Roger, grand master of the knights of the Hospital, sent to implore the aid of christendom, against the arms of Saladin. They had been at Verona, where they saw the pope and Frederic; and from his holiness they brought letters, to Philip king of France, and to Henry king of England. Philip they had visited, who received them graciously, and promised them assistance, from his purse and the valor of his subjects; but go himself he could

1185.

Ambassadors
from Jerusa-
lem.

¹⁰⁶ Hoveden.

BOOK III. 1185. not. He was yet without children, and the voice of his people disapproved the measure. They came to England. As Henry appeared, they fell at his feet, and weeping, saluted him in the name of Baldwin, their king, and of the nobles of the land, and of the people of Jerusalem. They laid before him the motive of their journey. They put into his hand the letter of Lucius, which extolled his many virtues, and those of his ancestors; which represented the deplorable state of Palestine; and which gently reminded him of the promise he had made, to give it succour. They produced the royal banner, and the keys of the holy sepulchre, and of the tower of David, and of the city of Jerusalem, and these they delivered to him. "With the blessing of God," said the king, kindly raising them from the ground, "your business shall prosper:" and he named the first Sunday in lent, for them to receive his final answer, at London ¹⁰⁷.

The situation of the holy land was, indeed, perilous. Since the last crusade, which had terminated so fatally in 1149 ¹⁰⁸, a series of disastrous occurrences seemed to prepare its final ruin. The three princes who remained, of

¹⁰⁷ Hoveden. an. 1185.

¹⁰⁸ Hist. of Abeil. Vol. ii. p. 189.

Tripoli, Antioch, and Jerusalem, were, sometimes, divided by a weak policy; while Nouredin, Sultan of Aleppo, availed himself of every weakness, and pressing forward, invaded their territory, and beat down their fortresses. To him succeeded Saladin, the bravest and wisest prince that the east had long beheld, before Sultan of Egypt, and soon after, also Sultan of Syria. That he rose to this height of power by equitable means, cannot be said; but he rose to it, as other conquerors had done. The infant son of Nouredin he dispossessed of his dominions, and mounted on his throne. Baldwin IV. the seventh prince from Geoffry of Bouillon, was king of Jerusalem, young in years, and enervated by a leprosy, (for so the disorder was then called,) which rendered him incapable of every exertion. Thus compelled to withdraw from business, he nominated his nephew, a child of five years, his successor, and gave the administration to the earl of Tripoli, a man of prowess and great experience, with the title of regent. But the state, with its dependent principalities, was, on every side, hemmed in by Saladin, who saw, with scorn, the puny kingdom still maintain its independence, while distant nations bowed, with reverence, to his beck. There were no internal

B O O K

III.

1185.

resources, the regent saw, which could make any effectual stand against the power of the enemy; and the troops, which the zeal of different chieftains brought from Europe, were but a precarious succour. He took the advice of his council, and resolved, as the danger was most pressing, to call Europe to his aid. This occasioned the embassy, I am describing¹⁰⁰.

The first Sunday in lent came, and a great council met, where the prelates and barons of England were, and the king of Scotland, with David his brother, and a numerous train of nobles. The proposal of the ambassadors being laid before them, they deliberated, whether it would be most advisable for his Majesty, to succour, in person the people of Jerusalem, or, agreeably to his coronation-oath, to govern, at home, the realm committed to his care; and the resolution they, unanimously, adopted was most wise. They resolved, that “to rule his
“own subjects with moderation, and to protect
“them from their enemies, was more expedient,
“and more for the good of his soul, than to
march to the relief of the eastern christians.” The resolution Henry delivered to the patriarch, “I cannot go myself,” said he to him; “but

¹⁰⁰ Guil. Tyrius & alii.

“ I will aid those with my purse, who shall undertake the journey.” Heraclius was dissatisfied. “ It is not money which we want,” he replied, “ but a man:” and he then requested that one of the princes might be permitted to accompany him. The king could not comply, as the two eldest were absent: but John, we are told, in vain petitioned it on his knees. As the council separated, Henry announced a general leave to all his subjects to take the cross; and the number who enlisted, laity, and clergy, at the head of whom were the primate and Ranulph de Glanville, the new justiciary, was incredible. — Henry then went into Normandy with his visitors, and held a conference, on the borders, with Philip. The result was, that they should assist the holy land with large supplies of men and money. But the patriarch and his companion, every where disappointed in the sanguine hope of leading a monarch into the east, having insolently upbraided Henry with infidelity more than Saracenic, turned their faces homeward, and sullenly retired¹¹⁰.

Before the king went abroad, he had knighted John, and sent him, with a powerful armament to Ireland, for which he had been long destined.

BOOK

III.

1185.

Prince John
goes to Ire-
land.

¹¹⁰ Hoveden. Dicet. Girald. Camb.

BOOK III. 1185. To relate the events that had preceded this nomination, under the administration of Hugh de Lacy, is unnecessary. They were various, such as an unsettled government would naturally produce; while the English, by such means as their superiority gave them, would extend their conquests, and the Irish, though bent to subjection, would, sometimes, make a struggle, and repel force by force, violence by violence. The administration of de Lacy had been generally agreeable to all parties; but Henry, with some reason, feared his popularity, as he knew his ambition. He had once recalled him to England, and, just before this time, had named Philip de Worcester, to supercede him in the viceroyalty. De Lacy withdrew into Meath, of which province he was lord. Philip marched northward, and the greater part of Ulster, into which the brave John de Courcy had before entered, submitted to his arms. In the south, all was quiet; and to Connaught peace had been restored, after a civil war between Roderic and his son Conor Manmoy, which had driven the unhappy monarch to a convent. Such was the face of things, when prince John, in his seventeenth year, landed, in great splendor, at Waterford. Giraldus Cambrensis, the historian, and preceptor of the prince, was with him¹¹¹.

¹¹¹ Girald. Camb. l. ii. c. 31.

John de Cumin, the new archbishop of Dublin, an Englishman, and late chaplain to the king, and many English lords, received him at his landing. The Irish chieftains of the neighbourhood, who had been ever well affected to the new government, then waited on him, and attesting their joy, as the manner of the country was, offered him the kifs of peace. Their beards were long and bushy. Stricken at the sight, to them unusual, the young courtiers laughed, and even, it is said, petulantly raised their hands to the venerable ornament. The insult was decisive. They instantly withdrew in anger, and returning home, took their families with them, and repaired to the three princes, who, as yet, had some power, O'Brian, called king of Limerick, Mac Arthy, king of Cork, and Roderic O'Connor, king of Connaught. They also were preparing to wait on their young sovereign, at Waterford. With indignation, the insulted chiefs laid their complaints before them. "We have a boy come to us," said they, "escorted
 " by other boys, and boys are his advisers.
 " What counsels, what steadiness, what security
 " can Ireland look for? Shall we tamely submit
 " to this?" and they repeated the story of their beards. — The kings reasoned well, that if they, who had always been obedient to England, had

BOOK

III.

1185.

BOOK been thus used, what might others expect, whose
III. conduct had been less subservient? On the spot,
1185. therefore, they formed a confederacy, binding themselves by oath to forget their own quarrels, and, at the peril of their lives, to assert the ancient independence, the rights, and honor of their country ¹¹².

The administration of John was such as might be expected. He gave the lands of some Irish, though attached to England, to the new men he had brought with him. The injured people joined the enemy. The maritime cities and castles, with their districts, and the receipt of the tributes, were committed to men of riot and dissipation. The command of the forces was no longer in the hands of experienced and steady generals. The frontiers were left exposed, while the household troops, enervated by intemperance, would not quit the cities. The old soldiers, no longer employed or consulted, retired in disgust, looking with horror to the near issue of such unmanly and unwise proceedings. At every turn, the thoughtless youth was ill-advised; and when he wished to act, he was ill served, and ill obeyed. — Roderic left his convent, and the other princes collected their forces, and attacked

¹¹² Girald. Camb. c. 35.

the English. Various conflicts ensued ; and the armies of John, by the sword or by desertion, wasted away, and a general revolution seemed to threaten. It is said that, Hugh de Lacy, who continued in Meath, jealous of the prince's power, secretly obstructed, and brought disgrace on, his measures. Henry saw it was necessary to recal his son, which he did, after eight months, committing the entire administration, with the command of the forces, to John de Courcy ¹¹³.

B O O K
III.

I have mentioned that Frederic and Lucius met at Verona. There they held a council, the principal decree of which was against those heretics, of whom I have spoken, and against their abettors. Its tendency was most intolerant, and on it were constituted those principles, which, a few years later, gave birth to the tremendous court of *Inquisition*. But though the pontiff and his imperial colleague could join hands to distress mankind, they did not accord on points, where their own interest was concerned. Lucius demanded the restitution of the lands of the countess Matilda, (a donation formerly made by that lady to the Roman church ¹¹⁴,) which the

1186.

Conduct of
Frederic and
the popes.

¹¹³ Giral. Camb. Hoveden.

¹¹⁴ Life of Abeil. Vol. i. p. 43.

B O O K emperor, by the late treaty with Alexander,
III. was empowered to hold for fourteen years; and
1186. he, as it was natural, refused it. Frederic, on
 his side, asked for the imperial crown for his
 son, Henry. "I have not heard of two em-
 perors, at a time," sternly replied Lucius;
 "nor shall I crown the son, unless the father
 abdicate." The emperor left him, and visited,
 as a friend, the other towns in Lombardy.
 A few months after, the pontiff died, and was
 succeeded by Urban III.

And now was celebrated, at Milan, the marriage of that Henry with Constance, aunt to William, king of Sicily. By much perseverance, Frederic had gained this point, which the Sicilians, hating the German name, strongly opposed; and which was not less opposed by the pope, the interest of whose court was nearly concerned. William had no children by his queen, the daughter, as the reader knows, of our Henry; and it was to the probable acquisition of another kingdom to his family, that Frederic looked. The event will show how well his views were founded. — Frederic and the new pope were not better friends. He was a Milanese by birth, and archbishop of Milan; and his dislike to the emperor was aggravated by the intemperate conduct of young Henry. Urban

brought many charges of violence and extortion against Frederic, which he repelled, and in a diet at Galenhausen submitted his cause to the arbitration of the states. They sided with him; but Urban was inflexible, and had not death opportunely intervened, we had again beheld another inglorious scene of discord. His successor was Gregory VIII¹¹⁵.

B O O K
III.

The aspect of things in France also had promised no continuance of peace. Geoffry was killed at a tournament in Paris, leaving an only daughter; but Constantia, his countess, was with child. His death, though violent and untimely, drew no tears from Henry's eyes, and few from those of others. His vices are upon record, and his virtues were buried with him. Philip, indeed, with whom he was plotting against his father's interest, when the accident happened, lamented his loss; and some time afterwards, demanded from Henry the custody of the infant, and of the dutchy of Bretagne. Both were refused. Bretagne, it is known, was an immediate fief under Normandy. — There were other points in contest. — The French king, on the death of the younger Henry, with much propriety, had requested, that the portion

1187.

The detention
of Adalais ex-
cites hostili-
ties.

¹¹⁵ Murat. Baron. et alii.

BOOK

III.

1187.

he had received with Margaret, his wife, as there were no children, should be restored to the crown of France. That was Gisors and its territory, an important barrier. Henry hesitated; and on that occasion it was, that the delicate business of Adelaïs, Philip's younger sister, was again brought forward. The reader will recollect, how long she had been in the old king's custody, and that, from year to year, he had evaded her marriage with Richard. But now, when Gisors was redemanded, he promised, on oath, that he would surrender the lady to his son; and Philip, in consideration of the match, covenanted to resign all claim to the castle and its territory. — The historian says, that Adelaïs was confined, like a captive, in strict custody. If so, it was in the castle, probably, of Woodstock, where the fair Rosamond, also, had once been captive. Henry knew how to render such bondage sufferable, particularly when the prying eye of Eleanor was away; and her, with very little intermission, he had now, for many years detained, in serious captivity, at Winchester¹¹⁶.

Months passed, and Adelaïs remained a prisoner. The circumstance irritated Philip, when he peremptorily insisted that his sister should be

¹¹⁶ Hoveden. Gerv. an. 1186.

surrendered

surrendered to him, and with her the portion he had promised. — Richard himself, occupied with war and the free indulgence of his passions, seems never to have given a thought to these litigious nuptials, under the prospect of which, however, he had been originally invested in the dutchy of Aquitaine. — The kings met, and parting in ill humor, the flame of war was instantly kindled. Henry pretended, that the castle of Gisors was his, independently of any late covenant with Philip; thus concealing, perhaps, from his own eyes, the real source of contest, which, though it degraded him, is known, more than once, to have deluged nations in blood.

On both sides, great forces were levied; and after the loss of some fortresses, taken by Philip, the armies met in Berry, near Chateauroux. Richard, and John, and Geoffry, the son of Rosamond, (whom I mentioned as bishop elect of Lincoln, but now a layman, and chancellor of England), held the principal command under Henry. Both armies were ardent for battle, and the trumpet was expected to sound — when two legates from the pope, who had been in England on other business stepped forward between the lines, and denounced excommunication against him that should strike the first blow. The fury of the armies fell; and their swords were sheathed;

BOOK and a conference ensued, in which a truce
III. of two years was settled ¹¹⁷. — But Richard,
1187. instead of returning with his father, attended Philip to Paris, where they passed some time in uncommon intimacy. Henry knowing the dispositions of his son, feared the consequences of their friendship, and entreated him to leave the French court. He left it, and passing by Chignon, where his father's treasure was, he seized it, and withdrew into Poitou. A reconciliation, however, took place between them, when Richard renewed his oath of fealty, and promised, in future, to be guided by his counsels ¹¹⁸.

Constantia, duchess of Bretagne, was delivered of a son. Henry had wished, that he should be called by his name; but the Bretons, assisting at the ceremony of his baptism, loudly demanded, that he should be named Arthur, fondly pleased with the fabulous tales, they had read of their British hero, and trusting his spirit might descend on their infant duke. He was named Arthur ¹¹⁹.— And, in the same year, France also received an heir to her throne. On which occasion, the natural gaiety of the people almost exhausted itself

¹¹⁷ Hoveden. Neubrig. l. iii. c. 13.

¹¹⁸ Hoveden.

¹¹⁹ Neubrig. c. 7.

in excess of festivity. For seven days and seven nights, they sang, and danced, and prayed¹¹⁰. BOOK
III.

News came to Europe that Jerusalem was taken. — Baldwin, the leper, was dead, and his successor, Baldwin V. a youth of eight years, was also dead, in 1186; when Guy de Lusignan, the baron who had treacherously murdered the earl of Salisbury in Poitou, by the interest of his wife Sibylla, aunt to the late king, was called to the vacant throne of Jerusalem. He was not equal to the perilous station. To him, however, Saladin granted a truce for three years; and this truce, within a few months, was shamefully broken by Renaud de Chatillon, who, issuing from his castles on the frontier, plundered a Mahometan caravan, and threw the merchants into prison. “Thence let your prophet deliver you;” he said insultingly. Saladin, calling God to witness the perfidy of his enemies, declared the truce was at an end, and swore, in his anger, that his own hand should revenge on the reviler the insulted honor of Mahomet. When his army was assembled, he advanced into Galilee, and storming the city of Tiberias, laid siege to its citadel. It was bravely defended by the countess of Tripoli, and a band of chosen knights. In the

1188.

Battle of Tiberias and loss of Jerusalem.

¹¹⁰ Gest. Phil. an. 1187.

B O O K mean while, Guy de Lusignan and the other
III. princes had drawn all their forces together,
1188. almost dismantling the towns of their necessary
defence. With them also was the earl of Tripoli,
who had been regent of the realm; and who,
on the accession of Guy to the throne, in resentment
had made a treaty with Saladin, which he
was now induced to sacrifice to the welfare of
the general cause. They marched to the relief of
the citadel, about forty thousand strong; and the
army of Saladin, which doubled that of the
christians, on the second of July, appeared before
them. On the following morning, the fight began,
which lasted all that day, and with the next
sun, was renewed with equal fury. But this was
but a day of carnage. Outnumbered by the
enemy, the christians fell, and the field was a
scene of blood and horror. The earl of Tripoli;
on whom lay the principal command, and whose
arm till now had achieved wonders, seeing the
defeat, escaped precipitately. Guy de Lusignan,
Renaud de Chatillon, the masters of the Temple
and Hospital, and some knights were taken pri-
soners. Besides these, few of the forty thousand
lived to see the setting sun. The cross, on which
our Saviour suffered, and which the bishop of
Ptolomais bore to the battle, as the sign that

would give them victory, was likewise taken. **BOOK**
This they deemed the greatest disaster. **III.**

After the battle, Saladin, in his tent, rendered **1188.**
thanks to God, and commanded the prisoners
to be brought before him. They were dying
with thirst. "Here," said the benevolent Sultan
to Lufignan, "take this bowl of cool Sherbet."
He drank, and gave it to Chatillon. Saladin,
turning to his interpreter, said: "Tell the king,"
"that it is not I, but he, who has given drink
"to that man:" alluding to an Arabian custom,
which secures the life of a prisoner from his
hand, who has given him either to eat or
drink. So sacred to them are the duties of hos-
pitality! He then dismissed them to take further
refreshment; and in a second interview, ad-
dressing himself to Chatillon, he upbraided him
with his perfidious conduct, and the insult he
had offered to the prophet. "I will avenge it,"
he exclaimed: "but if thou wilt embrace his
"faith, thou mayest yet live." With disdain,
the christian refused his mercy. Saladin drew
his scymeter, and aimed a blow at his neck,
which fell on his shoulder. His attendants did the
rest. After this, all the knights were massacred;
which seemed a just retaliation, as it was a law
of their institute never to give quarter to the
infidels.

BOOK

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The castle of Tiberias surrendered, on the next day, and it was followed by the loss of Acre or Ptolemais. Nor did the remaining cities hold out long. Jaffa, and Cesarea, and Berytus, and Sidon, and many more towns and castles, fell before the enemy. Ascalon was given up, in ransom for the king, who still was not released; and Gaza surrendered to a detachment from the Sultan's army. On the nineteenth of September, he sat down before Jerusalem.

The city was full of men, but not of soldiers; for they had been slain on the fourth of July. A woman and a priest, queen Sibylla and Heraclius, the patriarch, held the chief command. Besides, every circumstance, the captivity of their king, and a train of disastrous events, pressed heavy on their hearts. Terms of capitulation were, therefore, offered to Saladin. He refused them, saying, he would storm the holy city, and revenge, as was his duty, the blood of the seventy thousand musketeers, whom their ancestors, when they took it, had unpiteously massacred, Sibylla, and the lords of her council, returned for answer, that, if he drove them to despair, they should know how to sell their lives, as became their honor. The bold defiance did not irritate the brave infidel, and he accepted their surrender, on the following terms: That the city

should be put into his hands in the condition it then was; that the nobles and military should march out with their arms, and retire to what town they chose; and that the inhabitants might have the same liberty, on paying a certain stipulated tax on each head, and be escorted to a place of safety. The siege had lasted but fourteen days, when these articles were signed.

Saladin, with a religious punctuality, adhered to the treaty, and only departed from it, in extending his humanity, beyond the bounds of capitulation, to the sick and wounded, and releasing those without ransom, whose poverty could not supply the covenanted sum, Sibylla and the principal people retired to Antioch, and the Latin christians withdrew from the walls. — Thus was Jerusalem recovered by the Mahometans, after it had been held, for eighty-eight years, by nine christian princes. — The oriental christians were permitted to remain, and the church of the holy sepulchre, and the other places of devotion, were not polluted: for policy dictated to Saladin, that, as the flow of pilgrims to Jerusalem constituted all its wealth, the lucrative infatuation should not be prohibited. He only ordained, that all pilgrims, in future, should come without arms, and submit to an easy duty. Antioch, Tyre, and Tripoli were the

BOOK only towns, which remained in the hands of the
 III. christians ¹²¹.

1188. To paint the consternation which fell on
 Preparations Europe, at the first report of these disasters, is
 for a crusade not possible. The last trumpet, calling them to
 judgment could not have thrilled their ears with
 greater horror. No wonder, if the gentle voice
 of reason, which, in moments of more compo-
 sure, had not been listened to, should now have
 in vain pleaded for a hearing. Yet there were
 men, who saw the infatuation, and bewailed
 it; but also, their suggestions, if they had
 fortitude to warn the multitude, would be
 as little heeded.

The kings were again in conference near
 Gisors, on the twenty-first of January, and a
 mixed assembly was with them; when William,
 the learned bishop of Tyre, who had come
 from the east, addressed them on the late
 desolation of his country, and in painting its
 misfortunes, pointed to the completion of the
 tragic scene, which must soon ensue. The hearts
 of his hearers caught the warm impression: the
 kings, on the spot, were reconciled, and with
 the multitude, took the sacred cross from his
 hand. At the same hour, says the historian,

¹²² Hoveden. Neubrig. Salad. Vit. et. alii.

(so wild are the conceptions of enthusiasm!) a cross appeared in the heavens, over the heads of the assembly. Other such signs were seen in many parts: but who is ignorant of the thousand forms, which fancy can, at will, lend to the varying clouds? — To distinguish the nations, whom the crusade might engage, the crosses of the French were red, those of the English white, and of the Flemish green. The princes then departed to prepare for the expedition¹¹².

At Mans, to which Henry repaired, the principal barons of the provinces met him, and the following regulations were adopted: That all those, who did not go to the war, should, this year, 1188, give the tenth part of all their rents and chattels, excepting the horses, arms, and apparel of the knights, and the books, clothes, and chapel-furniture of clergymen, and the jewels of laity and clergy: that they who refused to pay this tithe, be excommunicated: that commissaries be appointed to collect it in each parish: that the crusaders, themselves exempt from the tax, receive the contributions of their vassals: and that the burghesses, and free socmen or peasants, who took the cross, without the leave of their lords,

BOOK
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1188.

¹¹² Hoveden. an. 1188.

B O O K should not be freed from the general imposition.

III. — Profane swearing was particularly prohi-

1188. bited, and games of hazard, and luxury in dress, such as furs of various kinds, and in the table, at which two dishes of any purchased meat only are allowed. — No man is to take a woman with him, unless a single washerwoman, on foot, and of whom there could be no suspicion; and no one to go in torn or ragged clothes. — The other clauses regarded the mortgage of estates, and the distribution of the property of those, who might die in the expedition ¹²¹. — Such was the statute enacted at Mans, and which was to extend to all the transmarine provinces.

Thence he came to England, and at Gedington near Northampton, convened a great council. The above regulations were read to them, and received. The primate, having first taken the cross, then rose, and harangued the assembly; after which many of the clergy and laity, enrolled themselves in the holy warfare. Agents were sent into the counties to levy the tax, which they did with great severity, committing those to prison, by the royal mandate, who were refractory, till they paid the last farthing. The

¹²¹ Hoveden. *ibid.*

jews, even, by a cruel stretch of power, were compelled to bear more than their proportion of the general burden, and sixty thousand pounds (little less than a million sterling) were levied on their chattels. Immense supplies, indeed, were wanted, which could not have been raised by any ordinary process. — The crusade was preached in Wales by the archbishop of Canterbury, whom the historian, Giraldus, accompanied: but the commissioners, sent to collect the tenths in Scotland, were not permitted to enter the country, and no contributions, it seems, were made from thence¹²⁴. — Henry then sent ministers to the courts of the emperors of Germany and Constantinople, and to Bela, king of Hungary, requesting a free passage for himself and army through their territories, and markets to supply the necessary provisions. His request was granted¹²⁵.

Philip, in the mean while, was equally active in France, where the ordinances of Mans were adopted; and his people showed the utmost alacrity, forgetful of the calamitous issue of the last expedition, which themselves or fathers had so recently witnessed. — And in Germany, where

¹²⁴ Hoveden, et alii.

¹²⁵ Diceto.

BOOK William of Tyre and a papal legate had preach-
 III. ed, Frederic called a diet at Mentz; and
 1188. himself took the cross, in his sixty-eighth year,
 and the princes and nobles of the empire were
 emulous to copy his example. There is a letter
 extant, which, on the occasion, he is said to
 have written to Saladin; wherein, after having
 mentioned his presumptuous and culpable auda-
 city in invading the holy land, he warns him to
 restore it, or that, when twelve months have gone
 round, he must expect to meet him in the plains
 of Taneos: "For dost thou pretend to be
 " ignorant." he goes on, "that both the Ethi-
 " opias, and Mauritanea, and Persia, and Syria,
 " and Parthia, (where our dictator, Marcus
 " Craffus, immaturely found his grave,) and
 " Judea, and Samaria, and Arabia, and Chal-
 " dea, and Egypt herself, (where a Roman
 " citizen, Antonius, I say it with pain, disgraced
 " his laurels in the arms of Cleopatra,) and
 " Armenia, and other realms innumerable, are
 " all subject to my sceptre. Kings learnt this,
 " whom the Roman sword made drunk with
 " blood. And thou also shalt soon learn the
 " same. What our conquering eagles, what the
 " cohorts of various nations, what the impetuous
 " German brandishing his arms in peace, what
 " the dauntless head of the Rhine, what the tall

“ Bavarian, what the crafty Suevian, what the
 “ prudent Franconian, what the Saxon playing
 “ with his sword, what the Westphalian, what
 “ the active Brabanter, what the Lorainer ignor-
 “ ant of peace, what the restless Burgundian,
 “ what the Frisian advancing with his spear,
 “ what the Bohemian rejoicing in death, what
 “ many other people; in a word, what my
 “ arm, which thou thinkest age hath palsied, shall
 “ be able to effect, that glorious day shall teach
 “ thee ¹²⁶. ” — The answer ascribed to Saladin is
 not so wild, and therefore not so curious.

But the Roman pontiff, it must not be forgot-
 ten, was the soul, which gave vigor to the
 general plan. This was Clement III. who, the
 year before, had succeeded to Gregory. He
 wrote letters, dispatched envoys into different
 kingdoms, and disseminated the animating grant
 of indulgences, as his predecessors had done,
 whereby pardon of sins, under the condition of
 sincere repentance, was promised to the crusa-
 ders, and the protection of the church to their
 families and effects. Nor, at the time, did he
 lose sight of his own interest. He treated with
 the Romans, whose fellow-citizen he was; and
 granting them some privileges, which their inglo-

¹²⁶ Diceto. Hoveden.

BOOK rious senate principally demanded, he was
III. permitted to enter the Vatican¹²⁷.

1188. But the preparations for distant war which
Hostilities in thus arrested the attention of Europe, could not
France. preserve the internal peace of France. The irri-
table Richard, provoked by the misconduct of
one of his barons, drew the sword, as he had
often done, against his own vassals in Aquitaine,
and, with the white cross on his shoulder, carried
desolation into their towns, their lands, and
vineyards. The rebellion, if it might be so cal-
led, was crushed; when, not to remain idle,
while his troops were on foot, he marched
them against the earl of Toulouse. The earl had
taken some merchants prisoners. The impetuous
duke over-ran his territories, and captured his
castles: on which he implored the aid of Philip.
The king rather chose to negotiate with Henry,
who was in England; to whom he sent a mes-
senger, requesting to know, if it was by his
commands, that Richard thus disturbed the
peace, and injured his vassals? And he demand-
ed reparation of the evils he had done. Henry
replied, that he had no concern in the present
transactions of his son, and intimated, that he
had been informed, that it was with Philip's

¹²⁷ Baron. an. 1188.

own concurrence, he had hitherto proceeded. — **BOOK**
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1188.
 The French king, dissatisfied with the answer, entered Berry with a powerful army, of which most of the towns and fortresses opened their gates to him; and on Henry's demanding, why this was done? The reply was; to revenge the wrongs he and the earl of Toulouse had received from Richard. The primate and another prelate were sent into France, to appease Philip; which proving ineffectual, Henry was compelled to leave England, and with a large body of Welshmen he landed in Normandy. Soon an army of his continental subjects was gathered round him; but, in the mean time, Richard had opposed the French in Berry, and, with much activity, had supported his father's cause¹¹⁸.

While towns and villages were thus desolated, Henry, whom long experience had rendered temperate, by fresh messengers acquainted Philip, that, unless he repaired the wrongs he had done him, he must expect instant war. "I shall not desist," replied the high-spirited youth, "till the province of Berry, and the Norman Vexin be subjected to my domain." Henry entered the French territory, and ravaged the country to the gates of Mante;

¹¹⁸ Hoveden. Dicet.

B O O K while Richard was present in every action, and
III. displayed his usual prowess. The kings, however,
1188. were brought to a conference in the plain near
 Gisors, so often mentioned, under a spreading
 elm, the ordinary place of interview. Nothing
 was settled, and the conference ending with
 much heat on both sides, Philip, in wayward
 anger, commanded the tree to be felled, which,
 with its benignant branches, had for ages, given
 shelter, says the historian, to his ancestors and
 the dukes of Normandy. But the earls of Flan-
 ders and Blois, with other nobles of France,
 now laid down their arms, saying, they would
 bear them no more against christians, till they
 returned from Palestine. This occasioned another
 conference, which was equally fruitless; but,
 soon afterwards, Richard sent an offer to the
 French monarch, that he would attend his court
 of justice, and submit his cause, concerning the
 restitution of the territory he had taken from the
 earl of Toulouse, to its decision; that thus, he
 added, peace may be concluded between you
 and my father. This proposal of his son much
 displeased Henry¹²⁹.

It was now very generally reported, that
 Henry meant to leave the crown of England to

¹²⁹ Hoveden.

John, for whom he had ever shown a partial fondness, or to sever from it, in his favor, a considerable part of his continental dominions¹³⁰. BOOK
III.
1188.

The report, though weakly grounded perhaps, would naturally irritate, and excite the jealousy of Richard; and, from this time, he seems to have courted the friendship, and thrown himself on the protection of Philip. He accompanied his father, in the month of November, to a third interview with the French king; when the latter offered a restitution of the places he had taken, on condition, that Henry delivered up his sister Adelais to Richard, and allowed him, as his heir, to receive the homage of all the vassals of his crown. Henry's answer was peremptory; that he would do neither. Warm alterations ensued; but a truce was concluded, till the feast of St. Hilary. Richard then, in the hearing of a numerous circle, entreated his father, to secure to him, as his heir, the succession of his crown. The king answered unsatisfactorily, and the son, in vain, repeated his petition: "I now see," he exclaimed, that to be probable, which I before thought incredible;" alluding, doubtless, to the report I mentioned. Then turning to Philip, he unbuckled

¹³⁰ Gervas. Neubrig.

BOOK his sword, and stretching out his hands,
III. on his knees did homage to him, for all the
 fiefs his father held in France, with a reserve of
 the fealty he owed to Henry, begging his
 assistance to protect his just rights. The assembly
 separated in astonishment; and Henry withdrew,
 revolving in his mind, says the historian, what
 might be the issue of this unexpected transaction.
 But he sent the son of Rosamond into Anjou,
 and himself departed towards Aquitaine, to
 provide for the general defence of the country¹¹⁸⁹.

This conduct of Henry to his son was un-
 generous, and almost justified the step he took.
 Experience, indeed, had taught him not to
 surrender unnecessary power, or to confer un-
 necessary honors; for fresh on his recollection
 was the behaviour of his eldest son; but Richard
 only requested the confirmation of his undoubted
 claim. I am disposed to think, there was truth
 in the report, of his too partial views on the
 younger brother. And his attachment to Adelais
 must not be forgotten, which is the clue,
 perhaps, that can alone unfold every minute
 circumstance of these extraordinary proceedings.

1189. When the truce expired, the allies, whose for-
 ces, during winter, had been much augmented,

¹¹⁸⁹ Hoveden. Gervas. Diceto.

by a very general defection in the provinces, began their incursions on Henry's lands. But a cardinal legate, with the olive branch, appeared, and interposing all the authority of his master, to impede the further progress of war, prevailed on the kings to submit the arbitration of their quarrel to him, and to the archbishops of Canterbury, of Rheims, of Bourges, and of Rouen. A conference, for this decision, was appointed at La Ferté-Bernard, during the feast of Whitsuntide. They met; and seldom had a more brilliant congress been seen. Philip then demanded that his sister Adelais, whom the king, he said, had kept in close custody more than twenty years, should be surrendered to Richard; that homage should be done to the duke, by his father's vassals, as a security of his title to the throne; and that John, instead of Henry, should accompany his brother into Palestine. If these conditions were admitted, he would restore, he said, to the English monarch all the conquests he had made.

However reasonable, and, on the side of Philip, disinterested, these demands may seem, Henry rejected them all: but, at the same time, with a weak policy, offered, that he would do more than accept the proffered terms, would Philip consent, that Adelais should be given to

B O O K the younger brother. As became him, he refused it. The assembly, therefore, was breaking up
III. in anger, when the legate, turning to Philip,
1189. threatened his realm with an immediate interdict, if he did not compose all his differences with [the English king. “ I do not fear your interdict,” replied the spirited prince, “ nor shall I heed it, as it rests on no equity. It “ belongs not to Rome, to pronounce censures “ on my realm, when I judge it expedient, for “ the honor of my crown, to chastise my offending and rebellious vassals. But you have “ tasted the English sterlings, I see.” — The observation, I believe, was not less true, than it was pointed; for Henry, by long experience, had been taught to know, what mode of negociation pleased the Romans best.

Hostilities recommenced with great fury; but every thing gave way before the superior strength of the combined armies. The earldom of Maine was the seat of war. Henry feared for Mans, and threw himself into it, with some chosen forces. It was the city he loved: there lay the body of his father, and it was his own birth-place. But it was attacked, nearly burned to the ground, and taken. The king escaped with

¹¹² Hoveden. Gerv. an. 1189.

seven hundred horse, abandoning his friends in the city, whom he had promised to defend, and showing his back to the enemy, which till now they had never seen. He moved from castle to castle, till he arrived safe at Saumur, a strong town in Anjou. But the confederates, leaving the ruins of Mans, marched towards Tours, while every fortress, on the road, submitted to them; and Tours itself was, in a few days, also taken. On the eve of this event, however, with the consent of Philip, mediators of great respect, the earl of Flanders, the duke of Burgundy, and the archbishop of Rheims, waited on Henry, to propose to him, a plan of general pacification. He assented to it; for nothing else, it seemed, could check the torrent of misfortunes, which the success of his opponents, aided by the increasing defection of his own vassals, did hourly swell to the most alarming magnitude. He moved not from Saumur, bewildered in a maze of difficulties, while his provinces were crumbling round him: and now also he heard, it is said, that many of those, he had favored most, were preparing to leave him. Ranulph de Glanville in England, indeed, where no discord had yet appeared, was collecting an army to bring to his assistance; and he had the consolation to have his chancellor,

B O O K the son of Rosamond, near him, who, with the
 III. prowess of a warrior had resisted the enemy,
 1189. and with filial piety shielded his father, as he
 retired from the flames of Mans. A conference
 having been agreed on, Henry left Saumur,
 and met Philip at a place not far from Tours,
 where Richard also was, and a great assembly of
 prelates and nobles. It was the twenty-eighth
 of June¹³³.

On no occasion, had Henry come to an interview, with a mind so bent and broken to compliance. Without reserve, he threw himself on the will of Philip, and began by an act of homage, which, agreeably to the ideas of feudal subjection, the late declaration of war had violated. The articles of peace were then agreed on: — That the princess Adelais be delivered into the hands of one out of five persons, whom Richard should name, to be received by him in marriage, at his return from Palestine; that all Henry's vassals do homage to his eldest son; that no baron or knight who, in this war, had joined Richard, return any more to his father, unless in the last month before their expedition to the east; that the time of their departure be the mid-lent of the following year, when the two

¹³³ Hoveden. Gerv. Neubrig. l. iii. c. 24.

kings and the duke shall rendezvous at Vezelai in Burgundy; that Henry pay to the French king twenty thousand marks of silver; that all the barons, subject to the king of England, swear, that, in case their master do not fulfil these conventions, they will join Philip and the duke, in order to force him into compliance; that till this treaty, in all its parts, be executed, the allies keep possession of Mans, Tours, and two castles, which are named, or, if Henry like it better, they will take possession of Gisors, Pacy, and Nonancourt, to be held on the same terms¹¹⁴.

The kings, during the conference, were privately conversing in the field, when suddenly it thundered, and the lightning fell between them. Alarmed, but not hurt, they separated; and the whole company, says the historian, expressed much surprise, as no darkness had preceded the explosion. Again the monarchs renewed their conversation, and a louder and more tremendous clap was heard, the heavens still retaining their serenity. Henry was much affected, and had fallen from his horse, had not immediate assistance prevented it. In this agitation, which the stoutest minds cannot always command, he repeated to Philip the

¹¹⁴ Hoveden. an. 1189.

B O O K most unbounded submission to his desires, and
 III. a compliance with each article of the treaty;
 1189. and then requested he might see a list of the
 names of those, who, in the late quarrel, had
 gone over to the enemy. The ill-judged curiosity
 proved the broken character of his mind. The
 list was given to him; and, at the head of it,
 he read the name of John, his beloved child!
 So closed the conference ¹³⁵.

Henry dies. The disastrous events of the war, which tarnished
 the glory of his arms; the reflection, that it was
 headed by a youth, whom he had known a
 puling infant; the defection of many, and the
 wavering allegiance of more; the articles of the
 treaty he had signed, humiliating to his just
 pride, and subversive, in one instance, of a hope
 he had too fondly indulged; the consciousness,
 which must often have recurred, that his own
 unwarrantable conduct had provoked hostilities,
 and that Richard, when the story of the quarrel
 should be told, would be deemed far less blame-
 able than himself; the ingratitude of John,
 whose aggrandizement he had fought, even at
 the expense of parental duty, while the love,
 he felt for him, was tied to every fibre in his

¹³⁵ Hoveden.

heart: these, and other considerations, formed a mass of afflicting thoughts, which the enfeebled state of his body had not power to resist. The impetuosity also of his temper, which he had not sufficiently curbed, now irritated by these strong incentives, contributed its own fuel to his destruction. — A fever came on; and the day after the conference, he was conveyed, in a litter, to the castle of Chinon. The chancellor, hearing of his illness, hastened to him; but the fatal lot was drawn. With the fever, the gloom of his mind increased; and as the ingratitude of his children pressed heaviest, he was heard to call down the curse of heaven on them. The prelates who surrounded his couch, and other religious persons, entreated him to revoke the curse. Nothing could prevail. He then requested, to be carried to the church; where, laid before the altar, he received the holy communion; and acknowledging his sins, he expired, on the third day, in the arms of the son of Rosamond. He died in the fifty-seventh year of his age, and in the thirty-fifth of his reign; and was buried at Fontevraud, in the church of the nuns, as he had particularly requested. Richard met the body, as it was carried to the grave. He wept, and joining the mournful train, proceeded to the

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III.

1189.

BOOK III. abbey, where he assisted at the last melancholy rites¹³⁶.

1189. To attempt the character of Henry, while
 Sketch of his character. the reader who has viewed his conduct, retains each feature on his mind, would be a superfluous labor. But the description of his person, which they who knew him well, have drawn, and some traits of his private character, may not be unacceptable. — He was about the common size, much inclined to corpulency, and of a form masculine and robust; broad in the chest, and nervous in every limb. His complexion was florid, his hair reddish, silvered, in age, by the hand of time, his head spherical and capacious, his eyes orbicular and of a grey color, when the mind was calm, themselves mild and innocent, but in anger, tinged with red, flaming and furious as the lightning's flash: his face broad, leonine, *quadrangular*, and his nose long and well proportioned. — He neglected his hands, never wearing gloves, but in hawking; his clothes were short, (on which account he has sometimes been called *court-mantle*,) calculated for expedition, his boots plain, and his bonnet unadorned. His feet and legs, it was

¹³⁶ Hoveden. Neubrig. c. 24.

observed, were generally in a bruised and livid state, from the repeated blows of his horses; yet he never sat down, unless when unavoidable. — His chief amusements were those of the field, which he pursued with an immoderate ardor. He was on horseback, before the sun was up; often fatigued the most robust sportsmen in the chase; and returning, sometimes late, sat down to a frugal meal, which was soon dispatched, and was then again on his feet, till an early hour called him to his couch. Thus by exercise and abstemiousness he opposed a disposition to corpulency, which indulgence would soon have rendered troublesome and unwieldy. His hawks were brought from Norway, and many from Wales; and he was particularly curious in his hounds, that they should be fleet, well tongued, and consonous.

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His understanding was good, the general powers of his mind far above the ordinary level, and his memory most tenacious. He was fond of reading, well informed in history, and possessed a natural eloquence, which when his temper was unruffled, flowed with grace and perspicuity. He was affable and well-bred, facetious and communicative. When the amusements of the day, or the serious occupations of

BOOK III. 1189. war and business were over, he sought the company of the learned, and delighted much, in a circle of churchmen, to propose subjects for discussion, and himself to attempt their solution¹¹⁷.

His vices were the vices of the man, and his virtues belonged to the prince. If the first were manifold, so were the second. He wished to make his people happy; and the burdens he laid on them were comparatively light. Even in the forest-laws his lenity appeared, because he mitigated their severity, in the eye of his ruling passion. But he was little loved, and he died unregretted. The reason was: — His foreign engagements detained him much on the continent, during which, in the administration of his justiciaries, the laws were neglected; or many evils, from the state of things, necessarily disturbed the public harmony. The very circumstance of his absence, to a nation jealous of their honor; and conscious of their superior weight in the scale of empire, was a subject of complaint; and when their king returned to them, it was often with a severe brow, to correct abuses, and to enforce the execution of the laws.

¹¹⁷ Pet. Bles. ep. 66. Giral. Camb. l. i. c. 45.

The English, therefore, did not love him. They admired him as a warrior, who extended his dominions, and they seemed to share in his triumphs. — Nor was he well with his French subjects, the Normans only excepted. The monarch of France was to them a more natural sovereign: he was always at hand to protect them; and besides, it was ever his aim, as the most obvious policy directed, to foment a spirit of opposition, to hold out favor to the refractory, and to show himself to them, with the benign aspect of their suzerain lord.

Henry is generally acknowledged, to have been the greatest of our English kings. I will not say, that it was otherwise: but when, in cool reflection, we take a view of England, as he left it, and of each particular province which constituted the wide empire of his command, we are compelled to own, that he had done little to improve their laws, to correct their manners, to extend their commerce, to diffuse the light of science, to spread the blessings of peace, in a word, to make them a better or a happier people. Added to the nominal empire he had. Scotland had done homage to him, and Ireland, it may be said, had submitted to his control. But never was a conquest more imperfectly settled.

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B O O K His reign, in a word, was more brilliant, than
III. attended by any real benefits; more fortunate,
1189. than prosperous in useful and permanent success;
 and had providence added a few more years to
 its duration, we should have seen it terminate,
 most probably, in the melancholy reverse of all
 its acquired glory. He died unlamented; but
 the experience of the next reign, says the
 most philosophical of the monkish writers, taught
 them, in sorrow of mind, to look back to Henry,
 as to a great and good prince ^{'''}.

^{'''} Neubrig. c. 24.

END OF BOOK III.

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
REIGN
OF
KING RICHARD THE FIRST,

With the EVENTS of the Period.

BOOK IV.

Accession of Richard. — First measures of his government. — He goes to France. — Discontents in England. — The kings depart for Asia. — The march and death of Frederic. — The kings arrive at Messina. — State of Sicily. — They pass the winter in the island. — Curious interview between Richard and Tancred. — Eleanor having arrived with Berengaria, the fleets sail. — Ptolemais is taken, when Philip returns to Europe. — Richard's exploits. — Disturbances in England. — The king leaves Palestine. — Is taken prisoner. — Negotiations

for his release. — He returns to England, and goes into France. — Miscellaneous occurrences — Terms of peace between the kings. — Richard dies. — His character.

B O O K

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Accession of
Richard.

RICHARD left Fontevraud, having with a becoming piety attended his father's obsequies, when the pressing concerns of a wide and unsettled empire, at once, demanded all his thoughts. He was in his thirty-second year, practised in policy, and inured in government, as far as he valued either; and he valued both, as they tended to gratify his ruling passion, — an immoderate thirst of military glory. The provinces of Aquitaine, Anjou, Touraine, and Maine, he settled, as firmly as the press of business would allow, and hastened into Normandy. At Rouen, in the presence of the prelates and nobility, he received from the archbishop the ducal sword; and homage was done to him by all the vassals of the province. He and Philip then met on the confines. The demand of the latter of Gisors and other frontier-castles, Richard rejected, alledging, that the surrender would be hurtful to his fame: but he offered to add four thousand marks to the twenty, which his father had covenanted to

pay;

pay; and this being accepted, Philip resigned BOOK
 into his hands all the conquests he had made. IV.
 The opening was auspicious¹. 1189.

He had sent orders to England, for the release of his mother from her long confinement; and with some instructions, dictated by a precipitate policy, he committed to her the sovereign administration of the realm. Joyfully did she leave the castle of Winchester; and with a royal retinue appearing before the people, she proclaimed an universal discharge to all offenders, for the repose of the soul of her husband, and commanded the prison-gates to be unbarred. The prisons, at Henry's death, were uncommonly crowded. She ordered an oath of allegiance to be taken to herself and son, whereby every freeman bound himself to defend them both, in life and limbs, against all men and all women. The process was extraordinary, but when a new prince comes, in the festivity of the moment, the forms of established order may be disregarded. Relaxed from the control of a severe administration, the nation received the princely indulgence with unbounded applause; acclamation rang through the provinces: but there were men, who censured the proceeding as extrava-

¹ Hoveden. Dicet. an. 1189.

BOOK gant, and saw the danger, which threatened
IV. the future peace of society. Richard landed in
1189. England.

In the choice of his ministers and confidential friends, he acted wisely, and showed a proper deference to his father's memory, treating those, with a marked dislike, who, false to their allegiance, had abetted his own rebellions, and rewarding truth and fidelity, where it was least expected. But he restored many forfeited estates; recalled the exiles; and permitted not, as far as in him lay, a single heart to ache, in the whole extent of his dominions. — To John he was improvidently profuse. Besides confirming to him the earldom of Mortagne in Normandy, with a pension of four thousand marks a year, and giving to him in marriage, as had been before settled, Avifa, the daughter of the earl of Gloucester, with the vast inheritance of that noble family, his generosity still knew no limits. He put him in possession of seven castles, with all the forests and honors annexed to them, and showered on his head six earldoms, Cornwall, Dorset, Somerset, Nottingham, Derby, and Lancaster. That his intention was, to bind to him the heart of that vicious youth, cannot be doubted; but Richard was not aware, that, by such prodigal donations, he only increased

his powers of doing mischief with more impunity. — On the third of September, the king was crowned at Westminster by the primate, says the historian who assisted at the ceremony, “after a solemn and due election”. The oath he took was, to maintain the peace and honor of the church, to administer justice to his people, to abolish bad laws and bad customs, and to enact good ones.

A scene of horrid bloodshed disgraced this joyous day. The Jews, who were very numerous in England, and whom the late king had treated with lenity, came to Westminster with presents from their nation, and approached the hall, wherein the king was at dinner with the prelates, waited on by the nobles. Richard, with much zeal, had forbidden their appearance at the coronation. They were insulted therefore; insults were followed by blows; a commotion began; it spread into the city; it was said, that the king authorized the proceeding; and in a few hours, a general massacre of the unoffending Israelites was committed, while their houses were burnt and plundered, and many christians were involved in the general event of rapacity and devastation. Such as ourselves have wit-

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^a Radulfus de Diceto.

BOOK IV. 1189. neffed, is, at all times, the licentious fury of a London-mob. Richard issued orders to quell the disorder, but they were not heeded; and on inquiry, it was found, that many distinguished persons were deeply concerned in it. The same tragedy was acted in other parts of England. Nor was it a common degree of iniquity which gave life to these atrocious proceedings. The Jews, by industry, frugality, and means not always honorable, had got into their hands the money of the nation, which they lent out at an exorbitant interest. That by destroying their persons, and consuming their bonds, every contract would at once be cancelled, was the base casuistry of their christian debtors'. — Philip also had signalized the opening of his reign, by great cruelties to that unhappy people.

First measures
of his govern-
ment.

Thus possessed of his crown, Richard received the homage of the English nation; and immediately turned his mind to the great object, which alone seemed worthy of his attention. To administer justice, and to rule a willing people, were to him no princely office: he would meet Saladin in the plains of Palestine, and rescue the holy cross from infamy. For this

³ Hoveden. Diceto. Neubrig. l. iv. c. i.

he prepared. His father's treasures he collected, which were more than a hundred thousand marks; and to these were added, if they were not comprised in that sum, the taxes, which had been levied by the statute of Geddington. But the sum he deemed inadequate to the exigences of the undertaking, and he resolved to augment it, by every expedient, whatever might be the consequences of such rash and unprecedented measures. The demesne-lands, the honors, and the public offices of the crown, he exposed to sale. To the bishop of Durham, Hugh de Pusey, a prelate of great wealth, he sold the royal manors in his diocese, for six hundred marks; and with them, for a thousand more, the earldom of Northumberland, to be occupied by him for life, with its castles and liberties. — The king of Scotland redeemed the independence of his country, with the fortresses of Roxborough and Berwic, for the trifling sum of ten thousand marks, doing homage to him for the fiefs only which he held in England. Scotland was once more free. The witnesses to this deed, after eleven bishops, are Eleanor, and John earl of Mortagne: and it specifies, that the vassalage, to which William and his country had been subjected by Henry, was extorted during his captivity. — The deed of sale to the bishop of

BOOK Durham was signed by ten prelates, and by
 IV. nine of the first nobility, headed by John.
 1189. Other considerable purchases were made from
 the crown; and when his friends dared to
 blame the improvident measure; "I would sell
 "London itself," he replied, "could a pur-
 "chaser be found." Without a single thought
 for the honor or well-being of his own country,
 he acted, says the historian, as if he were never
 to return to it. But the sums he thus collected
 were immense, and his warmest views were
 answered*.

Some modern historians have permitted their
 minds so to be warped by theory, that, though
 they see the most authentic documents attesting
 such facts, as I have here stated, still vainly
 think, they can discover an English monarch,
 even at this time limited in his prerogative, and
 subjected to the legal control of regular assem-
 blies, which they have called a *parliament*, or
 the constitutional representatives of the people.
 Henry, the last king, often met his prelates and
 barons in council assembled, agreeably to the
 feudal form as prevailing in all parts of Europe,
 and was sometimes, I know, influenced by
 their advice: but the statutes of the most solemn

* Hoveden. Neubrig. c. 5. Chron. de Mailros. an. 1190.

enaction, as has been seen, he afterwards modified or annulled, knowing no constitutional authority, that could bind his own will irrevocably. In Richard we view a prodigal prince, who, the moment he has been seated on the throne of his ancestors, considers the royal demesne, as a private property, and without consulting any council, disposes of it by public sale. He does more. The subjection of a foreign kingdom to his crown, which his father and the nation had deemed an event of the greatest magnitude, he severs from it, and gives it back its independence. Still, no public reclamation against these proceedings is heard from any quarter; the historians speak of them as of ordinary events; and the nation, doubtless, viewed them, as originating in no unconstitutional stretch of power. Men of the first dignity, even John more immediately interested in the concerns of the crown, unblushingly set their names to the deeds of sale and alienation of territory.

But ambassadors from Philip now pressed the return of Richard to the continent. Having, therefore, filled the vacant sees, and given that of York to his brother Geoffry, the son of Rosamond, whom the reader has seen bishop elect of Lincoln, and then chancellor to his father, he settled the administration of the realm.

BOOK Ranulph de Glanville, disgusted with his master's
IV. conduct, had resigned the important office of justiciary, preferring rather, in his old age, to travel into Asia; and the bishop of Durham, whose purse was not exhausted, had purchased his charge. To this prelate, and to Longchamp, bishop of Ely, now chancellor, a man of mean birth, a foreigner, with neither talents nor probity, Richard committed the general administration, naming them justiciaries and guardians of the realm. Hugh took possession of the castle of Windsor, and Longchamp of the tower of London. But the latter was the favorite, and with him, says the historian, the king left one of his seals, for the signing of his precepts. A fleet of ships waited his arrival at Dover, where he embarked with a vast retinue, and landing in Flanders was received by earl Philip, who accompanied him into Normandy*. It was the month of December.

1190. After christmas the kings met; but they saw it
 He goes to necessary to postpone their journey till midsummer. They reiterated their promises of friendship, and in the words which Louis and Henry, on a similar occasion, had adopted, they pledged their faith to defend each other's
 France.

* Neubrig. Hoveden.

territories, during the crusade; they mutually exchanged the asseverations of their prelates and the oaths of their barons, to the same effect; and they subjected themselves to the penalty of censures, should they violate this solemn engagement. Should either of them die, during the expedition, the survivor is to take possession of his treasure and armies, for the purposes first intended. — The principle of these reciprocal engagements is highly pleasing; and they seem to mark benevolence of character, upright views, and a noble sacrifice of every personal and interested competition. In the prosecution of the plan, had the same spirit uniformly prevailed, the crusades had proved a school, wherein, the bad passions being extinguished that injure man, we had seen society, in an accelerated process, advancing towards perfection. — The intermediate months the monarchs spent, in further preparations for the great undertaking; while every crusader, from the proud baron to the humble peasant, was busily employed in such adjustments of arms and equipage, as his abilities would admit.

England, under its new guardians, was not long at ease. Rivals in power, they quarrelled: and we see them summoned into Normandy;

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1190.

Discontents
in England.

BOOK and with them many bishops, and Eleanor, and
 IV. Adalais, and John, waited on the king⁶. For
 1190. the first time is Adalais now mentioned, and
 she is mentioned in the company of a lady,
 from whom, it may be presumed, she suffered
 much. Eleanor, jealous and vindictive as ever
 woman was, when now she had power, would
 not be inclined to treat her gently, who, she
 had reason to know, had possessed the heart
 of the late king. But it may be remarked, as
 something singular in the chroniclers of these
 times, that, detailing, as they do, minute
 events, they have recorded few anecdotes or
 court-intrigues, which, while they animated a
 dull narration, would serve to portray the man-
 ners of the age. Of the private lives of princes
 they tell us nothing. — On Eleanor herself
 had been settled a noble dower; and she
 was in the plenitude of greatness, projecting
 a match for her son, in return for his munifi-
 cent bounty, and preparing, it was thought,
 for a second pilgrimage to Jerusalem.

Richard, still more to exalt his favorite
 Longchamp, with the advice, it seems, of
 the council he had summoned into Norman-
 dy, appointed him grand justiciary of England;

⁶ Hoveden. Gaufrid. Vinisaufr. an. 1189.

and that no cause of dissension with his colleague might subsist, he confined the jurisdiction of Hugh to the country, between the Humber and Scotland. Longchamp returned; and after him soon followed legatine powers which his master had obtained from Rome. In pride of office, he encompassed, with a deep ditch, the tower of London, hoping that the Thames, in regal pomp, might be induced to flow round him; and then opened a scene of extortion and arbitrary exactions, still more to augment the splendid arrangements of the monarch. General discontents and alarms were raised. His colleague also came to England; when he seized his person, and compelled him to surrender the castle of Windsor, the honors of Northumberland, and every purchase he had made. And though Richard, afterwards, renewed to de Pusey the deed of sale and other grants, he left his favorite in the uncontrouled possession of power'. — Apprehensive of some danger from the popularity of the son of Rosamond, and the turbulent character of the duke of Mortagne, the king now exacted an oath from them, not to enter England, within three years: but in favor of John, most improvidently, he recalled

' Hoveden. an. 1190.

B O O K that engagement. Extraordinary it is, that this
 IV. prince had not taken the cross, or that Richard
 1190. did not compel him to be the companion of his
 journey.

The kings de-
 part for Asia.

To avoid the manifold calamities, that the
 armies of the crusaders had hitherto experienced,
 from the machinations of the Greeks, from the
 power of the infidel nations, through which
 their march lay, and from their total ignorance
 of a country, intersected by large rivers, and
 covered with forests and impracticable moun-
 tains*, the kings determined to conduct their
 armies by sea, to take provisions with them,
 and, as far as might be, to maintain a commu-
 nication with their own states, and the west of
 Europe. The regulations made by Richard, for
 the preservation of good order in his fleet, merit
 notice. "He that kills a man on board," he
 ordains, "shall be tied to the body, and
 " he thrown into the sea: if he kill him on land,
 " he shall be buried with the same. If it be
 " proved, that any one has drawn a knife to
 " strike another, or has drawn blood, he shall
 " lose his hand: if he strike with his fist, without
 " effusion of blood, shall be thrice plunged in
 " the sea. If a man insult another with

* Hist. of Abeil. Vol. ii. p. 189.

“ opprobrious language, so often as he does it, B O O K
 “ to give as many ounces of silver. A man IV.
 “ convicted of theft, to have his head shaved, to 1190.
 “ be tarred and feathered on the head, and to
 “ be left on the first land, the ship shall come
 “ to.” — He had appointed officers and
 commanders of his fleet, two of whom were
 bishops, to execute these orders with the greatest
 rigor. He then went to Tours, where from
 the archbishop he took the scrip and pilgrim's
 staff; but leaning heedlessly on it, it broke in his
 hand'.

Nor had Philip been less assiduous. Isabella
 his queen dying, at this time, he committed
 the regency of the realm and the guardianship
 of his son, to the queen mother and to her
 brother William, cardinal archbishop of Rheims.
 But he was also careful, to have this nomination
 ratified by the nobles of the land; and to them
 he read his will, purporting what his desires
 were, in case of death, and how the regents
 were to comport themselves, in the administra-
 tion of justice, in the disposal of vacant fees
 and benefices, and in the general regulation of
 the finance. His conduct was at once wise and
 provident, and it censured the wild and intem-

' Hoveden. Vinif. Iter Hiero.

B O O K perate precipitancy of the English king, who
IV. disposed of the administration of his country,
1190. with the selfish and arbitrary injunctions of a
 despot, and left it a prey to tyranny and
 ambition. Philip repaired to St. Denys, and
 receiving the badges of a pilgrim, took from
 the altar the Oriflamme, the sacred standard, at
 the sight of which, it was thought, the enemies
 of God had often been discomfited.

Midsummer was come, and the crusaders
 from England and the provinces of France, were
 assembled at Vezelay, the place of rendezvous.
 The reader will recollect a scene which, among
 others, had rendered the plains of Vezelay
 memorable¹⁰. The royal pilgrims arrived, and
 saw, with rapture, the combined display of
 their mighty forces, amounting to more than a
 hundred thousand fighting men, provided with
 every implement of war, glistening in their
 arms and armour, glowing with the impulse of
 a bold enthusiasm, and eager for the march.
 In the front of the respective bands stood their
 chiefs; and the color of the cross on the
 shoulder marked each nation. The presence of
 innumerable bishops, and abbots, and monks,
 and clergy, among whom was the primate of

¹⁰ Hist. of Abeil. Vol. ii. p. 189.

Canterbury, half-armed, and half-robed as the ministers of the altar, gave a curious variety to the scene. In settling the order of the march, two days were spent, when the signal was given, and the multitude moved. At Lyons the armies separated, Philip taking the road to Genoa, and Richard that to Marfeilles, at which ports their fleets were appointed to meet them.

Though it is not my intention to give more than the outlines of this crusade, being tired of war, and having elsewhere detailed the character and extent of these expeditions¹¹; it might be deemed a culpable omission, not to mention the march of the German army, and the fate which, just before this midsummer, had reached their leader, Frederic Barbarossa. Acquainted as the reader is with that extraordinary man, he must feel an interest in the event. Let it be recollected, therefore, that he had taken the cross in a diet at Mentz, in 1188: and in the following year, soon after easter, with an army of ninety thousand men, setting forward, he passed through Hungary, Bulgaria, and Romania, where he wintered, having been harassed on his march by the troops of Isaac, emperor of Constantinople, not unreasonably

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1190.

The march
and death of
Frederic.

¹¹ Hist. of Abeil. Vol. i. p. 49. Vol. ii. 189.

BOOK jealous of the approach of so formidable a
IV. prince. Early, in the next spring, he passed the
1190. Hellespont, and advancing, entered the territories
of the Sultan of Iconium. In this country it
was, where, in the last crusade, accompanying
his uncle Conrad; Frederic had witnessed the
direful overthrow of a mighty army. The present
Sultan had promised him a free passage, being
jealous of the power of Saladin; but faithless to
his word, in the defiles of the mountains, he
attacked his troops, and every where showed a
hostile countenance. Frederic advanced, fought,
and conquered. He even assaulted Iconium, and
took it by storm. Caramania was open to him,
and it seemed, that the passage into Palestine
would be easily effected. In the delightful plains
of Cilicia runs a stream, called Salef, which
some writers have been willing to confound
with the Cydnus, ennobled by the bathing of
Alexander in its waters. Fatigued, and heated
by a scorching sun, Frederic imprudently plunged
into the Salef: but the sudden shock struck a
chill to his heart; and he died in a few days,
on the tenth of June. The command of the
army devolved on Frederic, his second son,
duke of Suabia, who continued the march to
Antioch. But many had already perished, by the
thousand accidents of so long a journey; and
disease

disease daily thinning their ranks, when the army arrived in Palestine, they did not number, it is said, even seven thousand men¹².

BOOK

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Arrived with his army at Marfeilles, Richard was much disappointed to find his fleet was not there. Impatiently he waited some days, when hiring twenty gallies and ten large ships, he embarked, and sailed. Messina, in the island of Sicily, was the next place of general rendezvous: and it was now the seventh of August. The coasting of the fleet, some description of the places which it passed, is minutely given by the historian. It touched at Genoa, where Philip was detained by illness; and then proceeding along the coast of Italy, entered the Tiber, where being met by the cardinal bishop of Ostia, Richard upbraided the Roman court with its venality, which he had lately experienced in the appointment of his legate, and advanced to Naples. Here remaining some days, himself went by land, and met his gallies at Salerno, on the eighth of September.

The kings arrive at Messina.

The grand fleet had sailed from England and the English ports of France, as early as the easter-holidays. But a storm had dispersed many;

¹² Chron. Ursperg. Append. ad Radevic. Iter Hiero.

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and it was the twenty-sixth of July, when a hundred and six large vessels, full of men and military stores, assembled in the port of Lisbon, departed thence; and sailing along the coast, on the first of August passed through the straits, under Calpe, into the Mediterranean. We have then their progress along the Spanish shore, possessed by the Saracens, as far as Tortosa on the Ebro; and thence, where the kingdom of Arragon then began, to the port of Marseilles, which they reached on the twenty-second of the same month, in less than four weeks from the time they had quitted Lisbon. Marseilles also belonged to Aragon, the realm of which extended as far as Nice. Finding their king had been gone fifteen days, they waited to make some necessary repairs, and again setting sail on the thirtieth, boldly quitted the land, and on the fourteenth of September, entered the port of Messina, not having lost a single vessel. — Two days after, came the French fleet. Philip was honorably received into the city, and the royal palace was appointed for his residence.

On the twenty-third, an armament was seen, proudly advancing between Scylla and Charybdis. The streamers floated on the wind, and the gorgeous appearance of glistening objects,

announced the approach of an eastern monarch. But soon was heard the sound of music; and the clangor of horns and trumpets swelling the breeze, excited a general admiration. The nobles of Messina, with its priests and people, and Philip the French monarch, with his army, and the English crusaders, a vast multitude, hastening to the beach, gazed and listened. — It was Richard, king of England, with his galleys and their attendant vessels, from the port of Salerno, which he had left, when news came that his fleet was at Messina. He landed, and after some conversation with Philip, repaired to the apartments prepared for him, without the walls. Philip, on the same day, sailed for the Levant; but contrary winds compelled him to return into port, and the monarchs determined to pass the winter in Sicily¹¹. — The principal author, who describes these events, was on board the English fleet.

Tancred, on the death of William II. who, as *State of Sicily* has been told, married Jane princess of England, had been, this year, called to the throne of Sicily. He was a natural son, as is generally thought, of Roger, duke of Apulia, and first

¹¹ Hoveden. Neubrig. c. 12. Iter Hiero.

B O O K cousin to the late king, who died without issue.
IV. But Henry, eldest son of Frederic, and now his
1190. successor in the empire, had married, it must be recollected, Constantia, aunt to William II. and also aunt, in a certain sense, to Tancred; and she was then acknowledged, it is said, by her nephew, to be presumptive heir to the throne. The Sicilians in general, and the court of Rome, under which the kingdom of Naples was a fief, had opposed the match. They hated the German name; and it could be for the interest of neither, that so powerful a family should occupy the throne. Influenced by these motives, the nation looked to Tancred, as the only surviving male of the Norman line, and him they chose for their king. Rome sanctioned the nomination. But it was evident, that in Henry he would have a competitor, whose title, in the right of his wife, was acknowledged by many, and whose power, at all events, was formidable. Thus stood Tancred, unsettled on his throne, and menaced with rebellion, perhaps, at home, and certain war in his Italian states, when the two armies of France and England landed in the port of Messina²⁴.

²⁴ Murat. an. 1190. Iter Hiero.

The visitors seemed little ceremonious. **BOOK**
 Philip, it is said, before the arrival of Richard, **IV.**
 had had an interview with Tancred, whose **1190.**
 residence was at Palermo, or Catanea; and to **They pass the**
 secure his friendship, the Sicilian had offered **winter in the**
 one of his daughters for his infant son. The **island.**
 offer was refused. — But Richard, immediately
 on his landing, sent messenger to the king,
 demanding the surrender of his sister, the
 dowager queen, who was confined at Palermo,
 and preferring other claims. Jane was released,
 and came to her brother. He then took possession
 of a strong fortress, near the entrance of the
 harbour, wherein he placed his sister; and the
 next day, seizing a convent, he expelled the
 monks, and there deposited his provisions and
 military stores. The Messinese were alarmed:
 mutual insults and attacks passed between them
 and the English, which Philip, accompanied by
 many noble personages, in a conference with
 the king of England, endeavoured to accom-
 modate. While they were speaking, an affray
 happened, which was followed by a greater
 tumult. Richard called to arms; and his men
 forcing their way into the city, the standard
 of England was erected on the walls. The
 circumstance irritated Philip, whose quarters

BOOK they were; and the most fatal consequences
 IV. were apprehended, when Richard consented to
 1190. remove his standard, and to commit the city to
 the guard of the knights templars, till his further
 claims on his Sicilian majesty were granted.
 The misunderstanding between the kings seemed
 compromised; and they jointly published other
 regulations, for the suppression of disorders in
 their armies".

Richard claimed from the king of Sicily his
 sister's dower, and a golden chair for her use,
 which the queens of the islands had always
 possessed. He claimed for himself, as heir to
 his father, the legacy which the late king, on
 his death-bed, had devised to him. It consisted
 of a golden table, twelve feet long, and one
 foot and a half broad, supported by two tripods
 of the same metal; of twenty-four silver cups
 and as many dishes; of a filken tent, under
 which two hundred knights might dine; of sixty
 thousand measures (*silinas*) of wheat, of as many
 of barley, and of as many of wine; and of a
 hundred armed gallies; with all appointments
 of men and stores, for two years. In the present
 state of things, it was cruel to insist on the last
 article. Tancred, by the advice of his ministers,

" Hoveden. Iter Hiero.

proposed a compromise, which was accepted; twenty thousand ounces of gold to the queen dowager, and as many to Richard, in lieu of every claim. It was also stipulated, that a daughter of Sicily should be affianced to Arthur, the infant duke of Bretagne, and presumptive heir to the English crown. A treaty, likewise, of perpetual peace and of defensive alliance, as long as Richard should remain in Sicily, was concluded between them; for the execution of which the pope was made a surety, Richard, in a letter to his holiness, subjecting his territories to the censures of the church, if he violated the covenant¹⁶. — Thus was harmony restored; the English name was feared, if not respected, in Sicily; and Tancred hoped he might look to an ally, whose arms would awe the German emperor. Philip, he knew, was too much disposed to favor his enemy.

The leisure of the winter-months was spent, in preparing the machines of war, and in careening and refitting the vessels. But the English king, of whom most is related, found ample time for the discordant pursuits of amusement and penitence. Impelled by such motives, as

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¹⁶ Hoveden. Iter Hiero.

BOOK impetuous minds are prone to, he once assem-
IV. bled all his prelates, entered naked amongst
1191. them, with a rod in his hand, and prostrate at
 their feet, publicly confessed the enormities of
 his life. The historian speaks seriously of the
 event, and says that, from that hour, he feared
 God, and declined from evil. — In Calabria was
 a devout abbot, called Joachim, a prophet
 among the people, and peculiarly learned in the
 book of revelations. Him Richard sent for; and
 with his comments and erudition, he and his
 courtiers were much amused. Joachim expound-
 ed the sacred oracles, and by the remarks his
 majesty made, it appeared, that he also was not
 unversed in prophecy. Saladin, the holy man
 observed, was one of the seven heads or kings
 spoken of, persecutors of the church, but whose
 downfall was near. How soon?" said Richard.
 — "In seven years;" replied Joachim. —
 "Then why did we come here so soon?" rejoined
 the king. — The prophet then remarked, that
 antichrist was actually born in Rome, and that
 he would be raised to the papal chair. Richard
 combated the propositions, manifesting some
 shrewdness in his scriptural researches. The
 bishops then entered the lists; and from the
 arguments urged on both sides, it is plain, that
 they, and Joachim, and Richard, were as

intelligent in the mysteries of the evangelist, as any other interpreters, from that day, have been.

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But in sports and feats of arms, Richard, perhaps, was more conversant. The French nobility often dined at his table; and it was usual to spend the evening in tilts and other amusements. William des Barres, called the Achilles of France, was one day his antagonist. They contended, and the monarch, by accident, was unhorsed. He called for another steed, and rushed furiously on the knight. Des Barres, though with difficulty, kept his seat. Words of reproach followed, and the king indignantly commanding him to be gone, threatened him with his eternal enmity. On a former occasion, des Barres had broken his word of honor to Richard. Great were the pains, which the French king and others took to accommodate this difference; but Richard was implacable, when Philip, with a becoming courtesy, ordered the knight to leave his service. They were afterwards reconciled. — With a princely munificence, the English monarch then presented Philip and his courtiers with many vessels richly appointed; and amongst his own knights, he distributed his treasures with profusion¹⁷. —

¹⁷ Hoveden. lter Hiero.

B O O K But though we have reason to know, that his
IV. retinue was crowded with bards and minstrels,
1191. of which society he was himself a member; no
 mention is here made of their performances. Yet
 to their songs, doubtless, he often found leisure
 to attend, when in the halls of his castles, they
 strung their harps, and recited the prowess and
 bold achievements of heroes. The hearers felt
 the impulsive strain, and grasping their arms,
 panted for the field of glory. — Still Philip
 supported better the kingly character, engaging
 in no frolics, no starts of hasty violence, nor by
 insults exposing himself and followers to repeated
 outrages and attacks: though somewhat jealous
 he might be of the superior riches and parade of
 Richard, by which he was far eclipsed.

At this time, which was the month of
 February, Richard dispatched galleys to Naples.
 News had come, that Eleanor, the queen
 mother, would be there, with Philip the earl
 of Flanders and other company. That active
 woman, since the departure of her son, had
 not lost a moment. Stimulated by revenge,
 and in concert, doubtless, with him, she was
 resolved, that Adelais should never wear the
 English crown; and yet was she sure that
 Richard, in his present intercourse with the
 French king, might not be prevailed on to take

her to his arms? In his different expeditions into Guienne, he had seen and admired Berengaria, daughter of Sanchez, king of Navarre. Eleanor waited on Sanchez: she negociated with him, in her son's name; received Berengaria from his hand; and with her instantly departed for Italy. To conduct them from Naples were the gallies sent; but Eleanor, it seems, was not disposed to come, till Philip had left the island. The ladies proceeded to Brundisium, and the earl of Flanders only came to Messina¹⁸. — Where Adelais had been left, is not said; but it was, probably, in Normandy, guarded by as many eyes, as had watched the favored daughter of Inachus.

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Richard had an interview at Catania with the king of Sicily, which appears to have been their first meeting, and having prayed with him before the shrine of St. Agatha, he passed three days in his palace. Before parting, Tancred presented him with many rich gifts, out of which he would only take a small ring, as a pledge of mutual amity; and in return, Richard gave him *Caliburn*, the noted sword, which had once graced the thigh of the British Arthur. But our monarch did not refuse fifteen gallies and

Curious interview between Richard and Tancred.

¹⁸ Hoveden. Diceto. Iter Hiero.

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four other ships, which Tancred generously offered, and then accompanied him as far as Taormina, on his return. Here opened a scene of some baseness and intricacy. The Sicilian showed Richard a letter, which the duke of Burgundy, he said, had brought to him from the French king. It purported, that Richard was a traitor; that already he had violated the treaty just concluded; and that, if Tancred were disposed to attack him, he, the king of France, would aid him with all his forces. "I am no traitor," replied Richard warmly, "nor ever will be. The treaty, I made with you, I have not violated, nor will I. But I can hardly believe, that the king of France would thus express himself. He is my liege lord; and in this expedition, bound to me by a sacred engagement." — Tancred said: "There is the letter, Sir, take it: and if the duke of Burgundy deny that he gave it to me, as from the king, I have lords in my court who shall maintain it with him." — Richard took the letter, and returned to Messina. — It is remarkable, that Philip himself, a few hours after, saw Tancred at Taormina, and spent the night with him.

The countenance and conduct of the English king soon manifested the perturbation of his

mind ; and Philip, as naturally, inquired the cause. He sent the earl of Flanders, therefore, to him, to say what he had heard from Tancred, and to show him the letter. Philip seemed confounded, says the historian and was silent. “ I now plainly discover,” said he at last, “ that the king of England seeks for “ matter of complaint against me. The letter is “ a forgery. But to this artifice he has had “ recourse, I believe, that he may break through “ his engagement with my sister Adelaïs. Let him “ know, however, that if he do it, and marry “ any other woman, he shall have me for an “ enemy, as long as this heart beats.” — When the words were reported to Richard he observed, that he could never consent to marry Adelaïs: “ My reason,” he continued, “ is. She had “ a son by my father, and I have many witnesses “ ready to ascertain the fact.” — Philip, on further examination, seemed convinced; and following the advice of his friends, he consented to release Richard from every engagement to his sister. Yet, for this release, the English king stipulates to pay ten thousand marks in silver, and, at his return, to deliver up with Adelaïs, the castle of Gisors and whatever else had been settled as her dower. Philip, moreover, granted, that the sovereignty of Bretagne, about

BOOK which, probably, some words had passed,
 IV. should, in future, belong to Normandy, as an
 1191. immediate fief, the latter duke doing homage to
 France for both provinces. This convention
 was solemnly sworn to, and signed by both
 princes, and every cause of difference seemed at
 once removed ¹⁹.

Eleanor hav-
 ing arrived
 with Berenga-
 ria, the fleets
 sail.

It was the end of March, and the season for
 sailing: but Richard daily suggesting obstacles,
 the French monarch departed, and with him
 went some of the Anjevin barons. On the same
 day, came into the port of Messina Eleanor and
 Berengaria, the beautiful Navarraise. Pleased
 with the late issue of her son's negociation, the
 old queen only staid three days in Sicily; when
 leaving Berengaria to the charge of her daughter
 Jane, she again sailed for Italy, with a commission
 to the pope, (as the unsuspecting Richard had
 requested,) in favor of the son of Rosamond;
 in the way of whose consecration to the see of
 York, many obstacles had been thrown. Eleanor
 was in her seventieth year. — And a few days
 after her departure, Richard put to sea with a
 fleet of one hundred and fifty sail, fifty two
 gallies, ten large ships laden with provisions,
 and many small vessels. The number of the

¹⁹ Hoveden. Diceto. Iter Hiero.

forces is not mentioned. But a furious tempest soon assailed the fleet. It was dispersed; three of the ships, on board of one of which were the princesses, were driven on the coast of Cyprus; and of those three two were wrecked. Isaac, prince of the island, who had assumed the title of emperor, pillaged the stranded vessels, and threw into prison the mariners and men who had escaped. The discourteous savage even refused liberty to the princesses of entering the harbour of Limisso, in the mouth of which they saw their companions perish. In this situation of distress they were soon found by Richard, who, with great moderation, sent to request the release of his men, and the restitution of their property. But receiving a peremptory and insolent refusal, he disembarked his army; defeated the tyrant who opposed his landing; entered Limisso by storm; gained, the next day, a second victory; obliged Isaac to surrender at discretion; and in a short time the whole island submitting and doing homage to him, he appointed governors over it, and sent the emperor in silver chains to Tripoli.

I cannot omit the description of Richard going to an interview with the prince, before his captivity, in the plain of Limisso, given by the historian who was present. — He entered the

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B O O K plain, he says, and his horse was led before him.
IV. The horse was of Spanish race, tall and elegantly
1191. built, his neck long and arched, his chest broad, his legs bony, his hoofs spreading; in a word, the proportion of his frame, and the round firmness of his limbs, defied the pencil of the ablest artist. He champed his golden bit, and with restless eagerness submitted reluctantly to the rein. Richard vaulted on his back. The saddle, spotted with precious stones, glistened to the sun, and two lions of gold, placed behind on the crupper, with one foot in act to strike, seemed to growl defiance. The monarch's spurs were of gold. A satin tunic, rose-colored, was bound round his waist; and his mantle, striped in straight lines, and adorned with half-moons of solid silver, shone, besides, with brilliant orbs, in imitation of the solar system. His sword of tempered steel hung on his thigh. The hilt was of gold, the belt of silk, and silver-plates bound the edges of the scabbard. On his head he wore a scarlet bonnet, on which were embroidered in gold the various figures of birds and beasts. He came forward with a truncheon in his hand, whilst the spectators eyed with wonder the gorgeous champion of the cross²⁰.

²⁰ Iter Hiero. l. ii. c. 36.

Now he married Berengaria, and crowned her queen of England. But, at the same time, he introduced to her a dangerous rival, the only daughter of the Cypriot prince, whom he appointed the companion of their journeys. The fleet then sailed, and arrived before Acre or Ptolemais about the eighth of June ²¹.

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It was as the fleet approached to Ptolomais, that happened the famous naval combat between a single ship of the Saracens, of unusual bulk, and the English gallies. Though often boarded, with great carnage, on both sides, the assailants were compelled to retire; when Richard commanded his men to sink the vessel. I have observed, that the gallies were armed with an iron spur at the prow. They withdrew to some distance, when the rowers furiously bearing forward, the iron points bored the vessel's sides: the sea entered; and she sank, with all her stores, her machines of war, her experienced soldiers, and her Greek-fire, designed for the relief of Ptolomais.

In the year following the loss of Jerusalem, when Lusignan, its king, had been rescued from captivity, was begun the siege of Ptolemais. The

Ptolomais is taken, when Philip returns to Europe.

²¹ Hoveden. Diceto. Neubrig. l. iv. c. 19. Iter Hiero.

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united forces of all the christians in Palestine conspired in the attack; and the chosen generals and troops of Saladin as bravely fought within its walls. It was now the third year of the siege. The remains of the German army, under young Frederic, had joined the besiegers, and separate bodies of adventurers continually poured in from the west. Saladin, knowing the valor of his men, had long disregarded the vain attack; but when he saw the mighty swell of enemies, for they could now number a hundred thousand men, he collected his forces, and sat down within their sight. Battles by sea and land, attacks on the walls, and furious sallies, now followed in direful succession. Ptolemais was not shaken. It stood near the sea, and could be supplied with provisions, and every necessary succour. In the christian camp, famine and disease had begun to rage, and the hopes of success daily weakened; when the arrival of the French king inspired new vigor into every arm. With great address, he disposed his forces, and, within the course of a few weeks, an assailable breach was made. But the kings, that the glory of the conquest might be equally divided, had agreed, before their separation, that the walls should not be assaulted, in the absence of either. Philip, therefore, waited the arrival of the king of

England: but when that had happened, fresh causes of dissension arose, jealousies were increased, and the different bodies of crusaders taking sides, as interest or caprice directed, helped to aggravate every offence, and every motive of suspicion. The place, however, surrendered on the twelfth of July ²².

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The number of men said to have perished during this memorable siege, exceeds all belief. Historians speak of three hundred thousand, among whom were many of the first distinction; Frederic duke of Suabia, Philip earl of Flanders, with a long list of French nobility; and on the side of the English, Ranulph de Glanville, Baldwin archbishop of Canterbury, and many more. — The christian army was now ready for other achievements; and Saladin, whose kingdom had lately been assailed by the sons of Nouredin, had reason to fear the progress of their arms, thus auspiciously begun.

What next should be attempted, was in anxious agitation — when Philip, ten days after the surrender of Acre, announced his intention of returning to Europe! — His health, it is known, was impaired: he might be jealous of

²² Hoveden. Neubrig. Iter Hiero. et alii.

BOOK IV. 1191. the increafing popularity of his rival: it was evident, that their animofities muft foon break through every barrier, which his policy and more prudent referve had hitherto maintained: but an impelling motive, perhaps, was the death of the earl of Flanders, by which a confiderable fucceffion devolved on him; and this it was the intereft of his crown to fecure. Powerful, at all events, were the motives, which could reconcile him to a ftep, that muft expofe him to the censure of the chriftian world, and blaft, perhaps, the fair fame of his hitherto admired reign. Richard oppofed the measure: and as they had mutually, covenanted, that neither fhould defert the caufe, without the other's confent, it was not with eafe, that he complied; and only, after Philip had renewed his oath, to do nothing hostile againft his dominions, till he fhould himfelf be returned to them. Philip then departed, leaving behind him, under the command of the duke of Burgundy, ten thoufand foot, and five hundred knights; and paffing by Rome, arrived in France, towards the clofe of the year²³.

Richard's exploits.

A few days after the departure of the French king, a horrid fcene of barbarity was exhibited

²³ Hoveden. Neubrig. Iter Hiero et alii.

in both the camps. The terms of the capitulation of Acre were; that the true cross, which had been taken in the battle of Tiberias, should be delivered up, and with it a certain number of christian captives; that the Saracen prisoners should be redeemed, at a stipulated price; and if these conditions were not complied with, within so many days, that the lives of the prisoners should be at the king's mercy. Richard apprized Saladin of the near approach of the fatal day. The sultan requested a prolongation of the term, and sent him presents of great value, hoping to bend his savage heart. But his request was refused, and the presents returned; on which Saladin, in cruel resentment, ordered the christian captives to be executed. Richard, true to his honor, even when violating the laws of nature, waited as yet five days, because only then the term would be expired. He then drew out his prisoners, almost three thousand men, within sight of the Saracen camp, and, at a signal given, the three thousand heads fell. The duke of Burgundy also performed a similar tragedy, but not with the same parade. Richard, in a letter written on the occasion, speaks of the transaction, as a work of meritorious duty; and the historian remarks that, when the bodies were

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BOOK opened, much gold and silver were found in
IV. them. The galls, he adds, were kept for medical
1191. purposes²⁴.

Now it was resolved to attempt the siege of Ascalon. Wherefore, having repaired the walls of Ptolemais, and appointed governors, Richard left behind him the queens and his fair Cypriot, and marched with all his forces towards the south. The sea was on their right hand, which they did not quit, whilst the fleet, freighted with stores and military engines, rowed within sight of the troops, and supplied them with necessaries. Saladin, with an infinite host, attended on the christian army, moving along the hills by their side, and watching the favorable moment of attack. Between Cesarea and Joppe, he made an attack on the rear; but was repulsed with considerable loss. — On this occasion it is, that some romantic writers of the age describe a pitched battle, fought on the seventh of September, wherein Richard was seen to perform feats of valor, which the eyes of mortals had not before witnessed. With his battle-axe, in the head of which were twenty pounds of tempered steel, he cleft the bones

²⁴ Hoveden. Ep. Richard. ad Ab. Claraval. Iter Hiero.

of the Saracens, rallied his men, restored the fight where it flagged, unhorsed Saladin, and gained a complete victory, leaving forty thousand of the enemy dead upon the plain! This is fiction. Richard himself relates the events of the day, which were only the attack, I mentioned, and the repulse; and with the modesty of a brave man, does not even say, that he was engaged in the affray. James de Avesnes, an officer of great distinction, was the only man, he says, that was slain²⁵. — It is not willingly that I detract from the heroic achievements of our lion-hearted monarch; but his own statement, as he writes it to his friends, might I thought, be admitted as the best authority.

After this check, Saladin did not molest their march. They entered Joppe, the fortifications of which they restored; and proceeding, heard that the enemy had also quitted Ascalon, and the other maritime places, having levelled the walls and laid waste the country. To repair these cities was a measure which the wisest policy dictated; and Richard began the work, and, during the autumn, was busily employed in erecting fortresses, in sinking ditches round the

²⁵ Hoveden. et ep. ut ante ap. eundem: Sed vide Vinifal. in Iter. Hiero.

BOOK towns, and in raising such bulwarks, as were
 IV. deemed most necessary. The coast from Ptole-
 1191. mais to Ascalon became a chain of well-fortified
 posts. He then returned with his army to
 Joppe, resolving, immediately after christmas,
 to march against Jerusalem. But his forces were
 now considerably diminished; his treasures,
 which he distributed with an equal and lavish
 generosity wherever there was want, were nearly
 exhausted; and he saw a disposition, as the
 enthusiasm of the mind, from a thousand causes,
 cooled, in the French crusaders particularly, to
 follow the example of their king. In some
 distress of mind, he wrote to the abbot of
 Clairvaux, whose interest in the courts of Europe
 was great, relating the events of the expedition,
 and earnestly entreating him, to rouse the prin-
 ces and christian people to arms, that Jerusalem,
 the inheritance of the lord, might be rescued
 from the abominations of the infidels²⁶.

Disturbances
 in England.

Whilst Richard was thus occupied, great
 dissensions had disturbed the peace of England.
 — Longchamp by his arrogance, his pride,
 and more than regal ostentation, irritated and
 disgusted all orders of men. To the laity he
 was more than a king, says a historian, and

²⁶ Ep. ut ante.

more than a pope to the clergy. His colleague, the bishop of Durham, and others, by whose advice he should have acted, he utterly disregarded, and held in his single hand the reins of government. Prince John, restless, and ambitious, thus debarred from all concern in an administration, to which he might deem himself entitled, listened to the complaints of the subjects, and thought he might draw advantage from the circumstance. His brother's return, from so distant and perilous an expedition, became daily more uncertain. But it was whispered, that young Arthur, his nephew, was destined to the throne, in case of the death of Richard, without issue; and it was added, that orders had been sent from Sicily to the chancellor, to provide for the event of the succession; who, therefore, had proposed a covenant with the king of Scotland, for the support of the measure. To frustrate this scheme, did John now exert himself. He promised redress to the malecontents, thus extending his popularity; and finding himself strong, he resolved to attempt the ruin of the minister. A remonstrance, signed by names of the highest respect, was drawn up, stating the grievances of the people, and was sent to the king at Messina. The king acted with much prudence.

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BOOK IV. 1191. Instantly he dispatched to England the archbishop of Rouen, who was with him, a man generally beloved and experienced in business, with a commission signed by himself, appointing him and four other noblemen, a council of advice to Longchamp, without whose concurrence no affairs should be transacted. The archbishop arrived; and what is remarkable, so formidable did he find the power of the minister, that he durst not communicate his master's orders to him²⁷.

John was not so pusillanimous. Of his retainers and friends he formed an army, and threatened the chancellor with war: who, on his side, made equal preparations. Even conscious that he could not trust to the English, though, for some time, he had endeavoured to allure them to his interest, he purchased mercenaries from abroad. But prudent men averted the storm; and a treaty of a singular nature was concluded between them, as formal and authentic, as if they had been monarchs of rival nations. By this treaty, witnessed by seven barons on each side, it appeared manifestly what was the earl's aim. Ten castles of the royal demesne were stipulated to be surrendered,

²⁷ Hoveden. Diceto. Neubrig. c. 14, 15.

without demur, into his hands, should news arrive of the king's death. It is also said, that Longchamp privately agreed, not to support prince Arthur's right. The infant was in his fifth year²².

The son of Rosamond having obtained a bull from Rome, not by the application of Eleanor, but by the urgent solicitations of a friend, was now consecrated to the see of York, by the archbishop of Tours; and immediately he set out for England, notwithstanding the oath he had taken to remain abroad for three years. Longchamp forbade him to enter. He disregarded the mandate, and landed at Dover; when he was seized by the minister's guards, dragged through the streets in his robes, and thrown into the dungeon of the castle. The deed excited a general murmur; and John assembling an army, which was joined by many prelates and noblemen, commanded his brother to be released. It was complied with; when Geoffry hastening to London, laid his complaints before the prince, and the powerful attendants that were with him. They agreed to cite the chancellor to appear in the king's court; but as he despised the citation, they summoned him

²² Hoveden. Diceto. Neubrig. c. 14, 15.

BOOK before a council of the nation at Reading, and
 IV. fixed the day. He did not appear: on which
 1191. the prelates pronounced sentence of excommunication on him, and his accomplices in the imprisonment of the archbishop; and the whole assembly marched to London, in military array. Longchamp, with his forces, retired to the tower. On the next day, a great meeting was held before the church of St. Paul, at which the citizens assisted. Charges were brought against the Chancellor for his usage of Geoffry, and of his colleague, the bishop of Durham. The officers of the king, with whom he should have advised, accused him of an arbitrary administration, directed by violence and a selfish ambition. And then, which is remarkable, the archbishop of Rouen and the earl of Pembroke, for the first time, showed the commission they had brought from Messina, which appointed the former joint governor of the realm with the chancellor. They likewise asserted, which was not true, that the patent empowered them to depose Longchamp, should he be found guilty of maladministration. The charges being heard, the meeting proceeded, and deposing Longchamp from his office, they named the archbishop his successor. Nor did the business of the day end here. The assembly

general, with John, solemnly agreed to grant to the citizens of London a charter of liberties and immunities, (*communam suam*), dependent on the king's approbation; and they, in return, taking an oath of fealty to Richard and his heir, declared, that this heir should be John, if the king died without issue; and thereon did homage to him. The same was done by all the prelates and barons present. Longchamp then promised to surrender all his castles, and depart from the realm; which soon after he effected in a female habit²⁹.

B O O K
IV.
1191.

A curious, but indelicate, relation of this escape is given in a letter from the bishop of Coventry, interspersed with the severest remarks on the character and conduct of Longchamp, whose friend and confidential agent he before had been. Yet to show how little can be known of the real characters of men, there is also extant a letter of Peter de Blois, a name not unfamiliar to the reader, wherein he speaks most highly of the chancellor, calling him a person famed for wisdom and unbounded generosity, whose temper was amiable, benevolent, and gentle³⁰.

²⁹ Hoveden. Diceto. Neubrig. c. 17.

³⁰ Ap. Hoveden.

B O O K

IV.

1191.

Being withdrawn into Normandy, Longchamp acquainted the pope, Celestine III. who, this year, had succeeded to Clement III. of the treatment he had experienced; and his holiness warmly espoused the quarrel, addressing a brief to the English bishops, wherein they are commanded to excommunicate John and his abettors, and to make immediate satisfaction to his legate. — The English council wrote to the king, informing him of the measures, they had been compelled to take; as did Longchamp, stating the designs of his enemies, who, he intimates, are the enemies of the crown. But neither were the comminations of Celestine, though canonically promulgated, at all regarded; nor could Richard yet attend to the advice of his minister, which most nearly concerned him. For it was evident, that the views of John were directed to the throne.

As the name of the son of Rosamond often occurs, an anecdote may here be mentioned, in regard to the ashes of his mother, which belongs to the present year. It is known, that she was daughter of Walter de Clifford, a baron of Herefordshire, and was the favorite mistress of the late king. She bore him two sons, William, who will hereafter be mentioned, and Geoffry. Some years, before her death, she retired, it is

said, to the nunnery of Godstow, near Woodstock, and was there interred. Henry, who survived her, bestowed large revenues on the convent. A tomb, to commemorate her frail memory, was erected in the choir, before the altar, covered with silk; and lamps and waxen tapers were commanded perpetually to burn round it. Hugh bishop of Lincoln, a prelate of great virtue, and deservedly enrolled on the register of saints, visiting the religious orders of his diocese, came to Godstow. He entered the church of the convent, and seeing the tomb and its brilliant decorations, naturally inquired, whose it was? "It is the tomb of Rosamond," said the nuns, "the friend of our late monarch; and who, in testimony of his regard for her, has been kind to our convent." — "Take her hence," replied the good bishop sternly: "She was a w — e. Bury her on the outside of the walls, that religion be not vilified, and that other women, awed by the example, learn to turn from such ways of vice." The body was removed". — This is all we know of Rosamond; a name to which many ideas of beauty and misfortune have been playfully annexed, from its allusive sound, and

BOOK

IV.

1191.

" Hoveden.

BOOK from the fiction of an old historian, who, in
IV. wanton mood, could form a labyrinth for her
retreat, into which might not penetrate the
jealous eye of the injured Eleanor³².

1192. Richard, having spent the winter in fortifying
Richard leaves the maritime posts, was ready with the spring
Palestine. to march against Jerusalem. But dissensions
and jealousies had multiplied in the army, and
men and treasure had decreased. Unfortunately,
also, the marquis of Montferrat, whom the
French and German factions had supported in
his pretensions to the throne of Jerusalem,
was, at this time, assassinated, and the crime
most unjustly was imputed to Richard. However,
he was yet able, by a bold effort, to draw the
jarring nations together; and at their head he
advanced towards the holy city. It was the
month of June. As the army halted, the eager
monarch rode forward, and ascending an
eminence, surveyed thence the walls and towers
of Jerusalem, to which glory and the enthusiasm
of religion called him. His spies, at the moment,
informed him, that a rich caravan, laden with
merchandise and provisions, and strongly
guarded, was at a small distance. With a body

³² Bromton.

of five thousand men, he attacked the caravan, and became master of the valuable spoil. It consisted of three thousand camels, and four thousand mules; and having distributed much of the booty, with his accustomed generosity, among the soldiers, he called a council of the chiefs.

BOOK

IV.

1192.

Though the late success, the animating presence of the king, and more than all, the vicinity of the holy city, should have dispelled animosity, and united their resolutions, no symptom appeared, which could promise success to the prosecution of the great design. The duke of Burgundy held back, and his faction dissuaded from every further attempt. The city, it was known, was powerfully defended, and Saladin, with armed myriads, would attempt its rescue. They had done enough for their glory; and disease, and famine, and the sword, would soon dispatch their remaining squadrons. Richard despised the pusillanimous counsel, and offered solemnly to swear, that he would assail the city, and not desist, as long as a pound of horseflesh remained to be eaten: and the like oath, he proposed should be taken by the army. The French not only refused it; but declared they would immediately return to Europe, intimating,

BOOK that Philip had so commanded. — It is the relation of the English historian. — On this they separated. Nor could it be displeasing to Richard, thus to be furnished with a just cause of hastening back to his dominions, where matters, as it has been seen, of the greatest interest demanded his presence. But it could not be instantly executed. The king could not, in honor, leave the country exposed to the attacks of the enemy; and Saladin, well apprized of the situation of things, every where threatened invasion. The armies, near Ascalon, approached, and a general engagement seemed inevitable, when the Sultan offered a truce to the christian generals. He respected, it is said, the valor of the English king; but it was his wish, doubtless, as circumstances were favorable, to accelerate his departure, without the further effusion of blood. The terms he proposed were; that Ascalon be dismantled, after Richard had been reimbursed the sums it had cost him; that the towns, on the coast, remain in the hands of the christians; and that the pilgrims have free access to the holy places. The army joyfully accepted the favorable conditions; and a truce was concluded for three years, three months, three weeks, three days, and three hours³³.

³³ Hoveden. Diceto. 1192. Iter Hiero.

Henry, earl of Champagne, having married the relict of the marquis of Montferrat, had been chosen king of Jerusalem; and Richard, in compensation of the ideal crown which Guy de Lusignan thus lost, presented him with that of Cyprus, which remained many years, in his family. — Nothing now detained the crusaders; they left Palestine, therefore, as they could. The queens, with their retinue, embarked at Ptolomais, on the twenty-ninth of September; and on the ninth of the following month, sailed Richard, with a single ship and a few companions. He wished to avoid every incumbrance, and by expedition to avert those evils which, he had reason to apprehend, now menaced his throne. — The reader, for a moment, may ruminate on the issue of another crusade, which had drained Europe of its treasure and its bravest men, few of whom ever again saw their native homes. And what were its fruits? Some towns on the coast, and some scattered castles! But the wretched phrenzy was not yet exhausted.

What route Richard had proposed to take, ^{Is taken pri-} does not appear: but, at the beginning of ^{soner.} November, he touched at Corfu, an island at the entrance of the Adriatic sea, where he hired three gallies, and thence proceeding to Ragusa,

BOOK was carried up the gulph, and by strefs of
IV. weather driven on shore, not far from Aquileia.

1192. Whether from apprehension of danger, if known, or not to be retarded, the king and his company wore the pilgrim's dress. His beard and hair were long, and in nothing was he distinguishable from the inhabitants of the country; only that he spent his money with a usual prodigality; and this circumstance raised a suspicion, that he was no common pilgrim. Of the suspicion he was secretly informed; when ordering one Baldwin, with the company, to remain in the same place for four days, and spend more profusely than himself had done, he took horse, late in the evening, with a single servant, and departed. Ignorant of the country, with no guide to point the way, he travelled nights and days, little fancying, that every step brought him nearer to Vienna, where resided Leopold, duke of Austria, his mortal enemy. They stopt at a little town in the neighbourhood; and the servant going to buy some provisions, Richard threw himself on a couch, and slept. The servant was known, was seized, and taken to the duke. They threatened him with the torture; when confessing where his master was, a body of men was dispatched to the inn. Richard was still asleep; and as his eyes opened, he saw the

chains that were to bind him. He was led to Leopold ³⁴. BOOK
IV.

Duke Leopold had been in Palestine; and at the siege of Ptolemais, having taken one of the towers, he planted his standard on it. Richard ordered the vain ensign to be beaten down. It was so; and Leopold did not forgive the insult.— It was at the end of the month of December, that the king was taken; and soon afterwards, on a promise of a share in the ransom, the duke delivered him into the hands of the emperor, Henry VI. a more powerful, and not less inveterate enemy.

To England, under the prudent administration of the archbishop of Rouen, tranquillity had returned; and the measures of John were watched with a jealous eye. For a sum of money, he had made his peace with Longchamp, and had promised to restore him to his office. But the allegiance of the king's ministers, now animated by the presence of Eleanor, could not be shaken; and again homage was done to Richard.— In France, Philip, on his return, had demanded his sister Adelais, and the cession of Gisors with its dependences, as covenanted at Messina. The governor of Normandy replied;

³⁴ Hoveden. Neubrig. c. 29.

B O O K that he had received no orders from his master :
IV. on which the monarch threatened to invade the
1193. province. But when his army was assembled, the
 French nobles refused to accompany him, alled-
 ging the oath they had taken, not to make war
 on Richard, till he should be returned from
 the east.

Now rumors were heard of his captivity;
 and bands of crusaders arrived who had beheld
 him sail from Ptolemais; and the ship, on which
 he embarked, had been seen in the port of
 Brundisium. But to Philip came a messenger
 from the emperor, acquainting him, that the
 enemy was taken, and chained in Germany. —
 As men's dispositions and interest lay, so were
 they affected by the news. It was a shock to
 England, where the most serious consequences
 might be dreaded, from the ambition of Philip,
 and the disloyal machinations of John. Chris-
 tendom, in general, viewed the event, as an
 irreligious violation of the sacred rights of
 crusaders; and the thunder of Rome, it was ex-
 pected, would soon be heard from the Vatican.

Negotiations
 for his release.

The archbishop of Rouen, as guardian of the
 realm, met the king's friends at Oxford, where
 it was decided, to dispatch messengers imme-
 diately into Germany. Two abbots were chosen
 for the purpose. They departed. His next care

was to secure the state, and to provide against the designs of the earl of Mortagne. But John was gone into Normandy. — Philip, on the news of the king's captivity, irritated by the recent conduct of the governor of Normandy, and feeling a resentment of mind, which he had long harboured, had acquainted the ambitious prince, that there was now a throne within his reach, and that he would aid him to ascend it, on conditions of easy compliance. But the loyal Normans, when John came amongst them, requested his immediate co-operation for the release of their sovereign; when he had the audacity to propose the surrender of their fealty to him. Receiving the answer, his baseness merited, he left them, and repaired to the French court. Here, we are told, he did homage to Philip for all his brother's transmarine possessions; and, it was said, for England also, promising, at the same time, to espouse Adelaide, though he was already married, and to deliver into the king's hands Gisors, with the whole Norman Vexin. Thus strengthened in his hopes, he drew together an army of mercenaries, and returned into England. The castles of Wallingford and Windsor were surrendered to him; and he came to London, every where proclaiming his brother's

BOOK death. He was not believed: and the ministers
 IV. of the king, to whom he repeated the proposal
 1193. he had made in Normandy, rejected it, with
 disdain, and were ready to meet him in arms.
 He flew to his castles, manned them, and laid
 waste the adjacent territory; while the royal
 party opposed his depredations, and were
 active in guarding the coasts, that no succours
 might land from France or Flanders. The rebel
 standard, however, was joined by many³⁵.

The abbots, in the mean while, had reached
 Germany; and as romantic incidents, on every
 occasion, were to gather round the person of
 Richard, it is related, that the place of
 his confinement could not be discovered. And
 then it is, that Blondel de Nesle, his friend
 and fellow poet, in anxious search of his master,
 came to a castle, where hearing that a king
 was imprisoned, his heart told him it must be
 he. He sat down, and sang the first part of a
 sonnet, which they had composed together; and
 paused. — The royal voice was heard from the
 window, in responsive melody, completing the
 stanza. Blondel sprang from the ground, and
 withdrew. This may be fiction. — Weary of
 their search, however, the abbots had entered

³⁵ Hoveden. Diceto. an. 1193.

Bavaria, says the historian, when they met a guard of soldiers, and looking, they saw their king! He was on his road to Hagenau, where a diet was to be held, to which the emperor had called him. They made themselves known, and declared the purpose of their journey. Richard, unbroken by distress, with a joyous countenance received them. He inquired about the state of his kingdom, the loyalty of his subjects, and particularly, whether William of Scotland was well and prosperous? This verifies the circumstance I before mentioned. They told him, what had happened, and dwelt on the treasonable practices of his brother. “My brother,” observed he, after expressing much indignation, “is not a man, however, to gain a crown by his prowess; if the weakest arm resist him.” — On the journey, his behaviour excited a general admiration, being uniformly firm and unembarrassed, manifesting, that he was above the caprice of fortune, and that it was not only in the field, he possessed the powers of a hero³⁶.

Richard relates, that he was received at Hagenau with much respect by the emperor

³⁶ Hoveden.

BOOK and his court³⁷. In the public interview,
 IV. however, the first aspect was unpromising. Henry
 1193. made many demands, with which the king
 would not comply, saying, they should take his
 life rather. On the second day, the list of
 charges was opened: That he had made an
 alliance with Tancred, the usurper of Sicily;
 that he had unjustly invaded the kingdom of
 Cyprus, and dethroned its prince; that he had
 impeded the progress of the christian arms, by
 his contest with the French monarch; that he had
 been concerned in the assassination of the marquis
 of Montferrat; that he had insulted the duke of
 Austria, before the walls of Ptolemais; and that
 he had concluded a base truce with Saladin,
 leaving Jerusalem in his hands. — Richard
 refuted these charges in so free, so manly, so
 intrepid a manner, that the whole assembly gave
 applause to his defence, and the emperor
 himself joined in the acclamation. But to obtain
 money for his ransom was the great object; and
 the king, in this transaction, either permitted
 himself to be imposed on, or saw the necessity of
 cheerfully complying with the unreasonable
 demand. Henry, with an affected benevolence,
 proposed to him a treaty of mutual defence,

³⁷ Ep. Rich. ap. Hoveden.

against all men; and then promised to effect a permanent reconciliation with Philip. In return for the double favor, Richard engaged to pay the sum of a hundred thousand marks, (about two hundred thousand pounds of our money); while the duke of Austria generously mediated in the honorable proceeding! — The abbots returned; and after them followed a letter, addressed to Eleanor, and through her, to all the people of England. Herein the king recounts part of what I have mentioned; and then entreats, that the stipulated sum be raised with all possible expedition. “Even were I at liberty, “in my own kingdom,” he says, “willingly “would I give a larger sum than this, to obtain “the benefits of the treaty, I have made with “the emperor”³². ”

Longchamp, when the news of his master's captivity arrived, had gone over to him; and it appears, that he had served him with fidelity. Richard speaks of him in the warmest terms of friendship; calls him his chancellor: and he appointed him to carry into England a golden bull from Henry. He landed immediately after the king's messenger, and proceeding without pomp to St. Alban's, was there met by Eleanor, and the

³² Ep. Rich. ap. Hoveden.

BOOK IV. 1193. ministers of the crown. He presented the insidious instrument, saying, that he came, not as justiciary, nor as legate, nor as chancellor, but as a simple bishop; not even as a citizen, but as a guest, and as a messenger from his lord, the king. They received the bull. It contained a confirmation of the treaty; it exhorted them to strenuous exertions in the service of his dearest friend, and faithful ally; and it tells them, that Henry shall regard every favor done to the king of England, as exhibited to the imperial crown, and that he will punish every break of duty.

The insolent address either the ministers did not penetrate, or they concealed their feelings; for instantly measures were taken to raise the money. Without assembling any council of the nation, they ordained, that all subjects, clergy and laity, pay a fourth of their yearly rent, and a notable portion of their moveable goods; that twenty shillings be levied on each knight's fee; that the churches deliver up all their gold and silver-plate; and that the Cistercian monks and those of the order of Sempringham, who till now had been particularly indulged, contribute all the wool of their flocks, in which their property consisted. But so exhausted had the nation been by its late contributions, that the

money came in but slowly, and that at three different levies. Great severity, however, was exercised; and a historian accuses the collectors of oppression and peculation. The whole was deposited in the hands of commissioners, under the seals of Eleanor and the justiciary. In the king's foreign dominions the same tax was raised³⁹.

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IV.
1193.

Whilst England was thus employed, the king of France and John labored to obstruct the negociation for Richard's deliverance. To the emperor they made proposals; and an interview was agreed on, which, fortunately for the prisoner, did not take place. -- Again, after midsummer, he appeared before Henry at Worms, when the business of the ransom was resumed, and higher demands were made. Besides the hundred thousand marks, which were immediately to be paid, other fifty were demanded, for which hostages would be received, sixty to the emperor, and seven to the duke of Austria. To this Richard consented; as also to release the king of Cyprus and his daughter, and to give the young princess of Bretagne, his niece, in marriage to the son of the duke. When the first sum should be paid,

³⁹ Hoveden. Neubrig. c. 35.

BOOK

IV.

1193.

and the hostages received for the remainder, then the royal prisoner should be released. The prelates and German nobles present witnessed this agreement. — Commissioners went to England, who received the hundred thousand marks; and, at the same time, the king ordered Eleanor and the justiciary, with many prelates and barons to repair to him. Hubert, who had lately been translated from Salisbury to the see of Canterbury, by the royal appointment, remained guardian of the realm. But the emperor was not yet disposed to release his prisoner; and he amused his vanity with the promise of the kingdom of Burgundy, and many territories in Provence, the crown of which, he said, out of pure friendship, he would place on his head. Of the empty honor Richard speaks, with seeming complacency, in a letter to the new primate; not reflecting, that the emperor's own title to the territory was ideal, and that they would receive no master from his hand. The twentieth day after christmas was now fixed for his deliverance; and in seven more, he would be crowned king of Provence or Arles, the region of minstrels and of Troubadours*.

* Hoveden. Pet. Blef. ep. 64. 144.

The king's friends, at home, remained firm and active, against the attempts of his brother, though they left him in possession of his castles, and did not impede his treacherous machinations with the French king. Letters also had been written, by Eleanor and the late justiciary, to the pope, urging his interference in a quarrel, that immediately regarded the honor of the holy see. Celestine was roused; and he threatened all the enemies of Richard with excommunication, if they detained him any longer, or dared to attack his territories. But Philip's mind was still resentful; and though he made little impression on Normandy, he did not desist. Gisors and other castles surrendered to his arms, while Longchamp labored to effect a treaty of peace, and strenuously to support the interests of his master. Before this, Philip had married Ingeberga, sister of the king of Denmark, with an intention, it was said, to revive the fallen claim of that country to the realm of England; but he immediately quitted his bride, and confined her in a convent. The difficulties, in which this rash step involved him, were afterwards productive of much trouble.

Understanding that the emperor would be necessitated to release the king, Philip now warned the earl of Mortagne of the approaching

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1194.

danger, saying, that the devil would soon be unchained, and proposing to him to attempt a last measure. They sent messengers to Henry with offers, which, they had reason to hope, his imperial virtue would be unable to resist. It was after christmas, and the emperor had gone to Spire, where Richard and a great court were assembled, previously to his release. The messengers presented themselves, and declared their commission. It imported an offer from Philip of fifty thousand marks, and of thirty thousand from John, if the emperor would detain Richard in custody, till the following michaelmas; or, if he rather chose it, they would pay him a thousand pounds of silver at the end of every month, so long as he should keep him prisoner; or, they would give him a hundred and fifty thousand marks, on condition, the king were delivered into their hands, or not released for the space of one year. — The needy man listened to the shameless proposal, and appointed a more distant day, for the accomplishment of his sacred word to Richard. This was candlemas: when again they met at Mentz; and before the whole court, and many English nobles Henry did not blush to declare his unwillingness to let go the prisoner. Even the

messengers

messengers were introduced ; and taking from them the letters they had brought from their masters , he gave them to Richard. With a confusion indescribable , he perused that from the French king , and that from his brother , purporting the offers , I have mentioned. That his chains must again be rivetted , he could not doubt ; and he stood pensive , desponding , motionless. But the German prelates and princes , who had been sureties for his release , were more honorable than Henry , whom , to his face , they upbraided with base venality , and a breach of the most solemn compact. Their remonstrance took effect ; when Richard was delivered into the hands of his mother , after the archbishop of Rouen and other hostages had been named to remain in the imperial court. Thus at liberty , he speedily left Germany , and passing by Cologne , arrived at Antwerp , where many ships from England waited for him. He there embarked on board the galley of Trenchemer , a famous naval officer ; and on the twentieth of March , landed at Sandwich , after an absence of four years , fifteen months whereof he had passed in confinement[“].

BOOK
IV.
1194.

[“] Hoveden. Dicet. an. 1194. Neubrig. c. 38.

BOOK

IV.

1194.

He returns to
England, and
goes into
France.

The joy was extreme on his arrival, and the magnificence exhibited by the Londoners, when he entered their city, struck the German barons, who accompanied him, with amazement. "Had our master suspected this," said one of them frankly to the king, "you would not have escaped so lightly." But the nobility were employed in besieging the prince's castles, and did not meet him. Various armies were on foot, at the head of which, in the north, were the bishop of Durham, and the son of Rosamond, the archbishop of York; and in the south, the primate himself, justiciary of the realm, was in the field. He had assembled a great council, wherein John was declared a rebel, and all his possessions forfeited; and on the next day, the bishops excommunicated him and his abettors. So great was the attachment to Richard, a prince possessed of no quality, which could make his people happy, and from whom they had as yet experienced only insult and oppression. But he was a soldier, and the glory, which his arms had acquired, dazzled the multitude. To the shame of human reason, such are the characters whom popular applause has magnified!

The castle of Nottingham still resisted, when the king landed, and he instantly marched against it. Here we find him, on the fifth day, after his

landing, and on the eighth it surrendered. A council then was held, which was splendidly attended, the main design of which was to raise money. He confiscated the estates and honors of some barons, who had adhered to his brother; and he sold them, in the face of the assembly, though they properly belonged to the royal demesne. John was cited to answer for his conduct, and forty days were allowed him. On the third day of the meeting, Richard demanded two shillings from every *carucate* or hide of land; and he ordered every knight, according to the nature of his fee, to give him a third part of his service, during the expedition he projected into France. The Cistercian monks were, likewise, again called on for all the wool of the present year. On the last day, it was determined, that the king should be again crowned at Winchester⁴².— In all the transactions of this assembly, the language of the historian clearly insinuates, that Richard decided and enacted, without any reference to the opinions or votes of the meeting. In a subsequent negociation with the king of Scotland, for the recovery of the northern counties, which his ancestors had held, the same

⁴² Hoveden. Neubrig. c. 39.

BOOK historian relates, that the advice of a council was
 IV. taken: of which the obvious reason was, that
 1194. Richard disliked the proposal, and therefore
 wished the odium of a refusal to rest on them.

As with a shameful prodigality, before his expedition to the east, he had alienated many parts of the royal demesne; the same he now resumed with an unheard of rapacity, alledging, that the purchasers had amply reimbursed themselves, and that in conscience, they could hold them no longer. They submitted. — He was crowned at easter, that every unfavorable impression, which his captivity had made, might be effaced by the ceremony; and soon afterwards he departed, with an army, for the continent. He landed at Barfleur, irritated by a series of ill-usage, and bent on revenge. Yet the events which follow are so trifling, as hardly to merit notice. The siege of one place is raised, while another is taken: skirmish succeeds to skirmish; and villages and towns are desolated. A truce is proposed, which miscarries; after which, a rencounter ensued, in which the French were defeated, and the military chest, with the records of the crown and other papers, fell into the hands of Richard. It may appear extraordinary, that such valuable writings should have been moved from place to place: but as

the kings had no permanent court, and the decision of many questions, in the feudal tenures, daily came before them, it was necessary to be provided with documents, whereby claims might be ascertained or refuted. The loss of these records might have proved irreparable; but it does not appear, that any real evil ensued. Richard was an undisguised enemy, and valued not those means, which a more politic prince would have turned to advantage. But the French historians say, he would never surrender the writings, and that they were compelled to repair the loss, by memory and the best methods they could devise⁴³. A truce for a year was finally concluded.

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IV.
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Prince John, by the mediation of Eleanor, had been reconciled to his brother. When he heard of his arrival in Normandy, he quitted the court of Philip, and coming to Evreux, which that prince had taken and given to him, he invited the French officers to his table. Them, at the end of the repast, he ordered to be massacred; and the garrison shared their fate. The act of perfidy, he trusted, would recommend him to favor and with his bloody hands

⁴³ Daniel, Mezer. &c.

BOOK he waited on Richard, and implored his forgiveness. He forgave him; but did not restore to him either his castles or his lands.

IV.

1195. Hubert, archbishop of Canterbury, guardian of the realm and grand justiciary, was indefatigable in the concerns of his office. Under his administration, a general tranquillity prevailed through the provinces; the justices made their regular circuits; and with order a spirit of industry returning, men began to recover from the late oppressions of taxes and enthusiasm. The absence of the king was a real benefit to the nation. Hubert had been educated under Ranulph de Glanville, and was expert in business, and the science of the English laws. But, on many occasions, he seconded, contrary to the conviction of his judgment, the schemes of Richard for raising money. His attachment to him was most sincere: he had accompanied him to the east, when he had been lately raised to the see of Salisbury, and there fought by his side. Richard, said the historian, was often astonished at his prowess^{**}.

Tournaments, in which the lives of the champions were sometimes in danger, had been prohibited by councils and decrees of popes.

^{**} Act. Pont. Cent. p. 167b.

The English king viewed them with other eyes, and he ordered they should be practised in England, where as yet they were uncommon. But, besides the military advantage to be derived from the exercise, he looked to pecuniary profit. When we know how exhausted the royal coffers were, and how much money was wanted to carry on a most just war against Philip, we may be disposed to pardon these measures of a prince, otherwise unmercenary, generous and munificent. He decreed therefore, that whoever held, or was present at, a tournament, should pay for a licence, in proportion to the rank he bore: an earl twenty marks, a baron ten, a knight possessing land, four, and those without land, two. The justiciary warmly seconded the measure⁴⁵.

Nor was Hubert less vigilant in his attention to the church. As primate, but more as legate of the holy see, to which dignity he had been promoted, on the dismissal of Longchamp, he held a council at York; wherein eighteen canons were enacted, to correct abuses, and to enforce a more regular discipline on the ministers of the altar. This synod he convened at York, in

⁴⁵ Hoveden. Diceto.

BOOK which himself presided, that his primacy over
IV. the whole English church might be declared.
1195. At all times, had this point been litigated
 between the metropolitan sees, and had not
 Geoffry been absent from the kingdom, the
 legate's design had assuredly been frustrated.

The son of Rosamond, whose military accomplishments I have often mentioned; and who, when his brother's crown was lately threatened, had exhibited the same allegiance to him, as he had to his father, continued to manifest as little of the churchman's spirit, as when, in his youth, he had been elected to the see of Lincoln. His temper was violent and arbitrary, such as the maxims of the age impressed. From the moment of his elevation to York, quarrels with the chapter and with the bishop of Durham, unfounded pretensions, and a disregard to the rights and immunities of clergy and convents, had formed a scene of contest and opposition. Complaints were carried to Rome against him, which represented his conduct as highly criminal, and his character as profanely loose and uncanonical. Bigotry and malevolence had given their tinge to the coloring. Commissioners were nominated by the pope to examine these charges, one of whom was the amiable bishop of Lincoln. They were examined, and many

of them, it appears, were founded: but Geoffry had interest, by appeals to Rome and other means, to avert the sentence of suspension, which his conduct merited. With Richard also he had disputes, who seized his archbishopric, and the many castles and honors he possessed⁴⁶.

BOOK
IV.
1195.

I have mentioned the bishop of Lincoln, the same who, on a former occasion, had disturbed the ashes of the reposing Rosamond. He was a friend to the people, as he was a foe to vice and general oppression. It had been a custom in his diocese, to present the king annually with a mantle, lined with rich furs; and to raise this an immoderate tax was levied on the people. Hugh redeemed this obligation by a thousand marks. An order soon after came for a subsidy, which, it was said, the king much wanted. The good bishop saw the oppression, and answered the justiciary, that he would not consent it should be levied. Information of this was carried to the king, who, in a rage, commanded, that no mercy should be shown to the refractory prelate. Regardless of the menace, Hugh repaired to Normandy; when his friends entreated him, not to appear before the king, apprehending the

⁴⁶ Hoveden, passim.

BOOK violence of his anger. Richard was at mass,
 IV. and the bishop entering the chapel, walked up
 1195. to him. "Give me a kiss," said he, in a low
 voice. — "That you have not deserved;"
 replied his majesty, turning to him. "Indeed,
 "I have," rejoined the prelate; "for I have
 "made a long journey to see you, and it shall
 "not be for nothing." So saying, he took hold
 of the king's robe, and drew him to one side.
 Richard smiled, and embraced him. — After
 mass, they withdrew behind the altar, when the
 bishop, taking a seat by the king, said to him.
 "In what state is your conscience? Sir." —
 "Why; very easy," replied Richard, "barring
 "the anxiety, which my enemies cause." "Can
 "you say so?" rejoined Hugh: "Do you not
 "daily oppress the indigent; and load your
 "people with exactions? Besides, it is reported,
 "that you have been faithless to your queen.
 "Are these light transgressions?" — He then
 exhorted him to an amendment of life; and
 raising his voice that the courtiers might hear,
 he declared from what motives he had acted, in
 his late opposition to the subsidy. The king's
 behaviour was temperate, condescending, and
 friendly. As the bishop retired, Richard observed
 to his courtiers: "If all prelates were of that

“character, we kings and our barons should
 “have little sway over them.”

BOOK

IV.

1195.

In this year, died the duke of Austria, whom Celestine had excommunicated; but before his death, he released the hostages, and remitted the part of the ransom, which was yet unpaid. The sister of duke Arthur, who had been promised to the son of Leopold, and the daughter of the king of Cyprus, were on their journey into Hungary, when the news arrived. The ladies returned. — Tancred of Sicily was also dead, and his crown devolved on William, an infant son. This was the moment for the emperor to make good his claim. He marched an army into Apulia, which submitted, as did the island of Sicily. At Palermo he was crowned, and thus ended the race of the Norman kings, nearly two hundred years, after the first conquests of the family. The riches of the kingdom were transported into Germany; its nobles massacred or imprisoned; and the dowager queen, with her son and three daughters, having graced the triumph of the conqueror, were consigned to perpetual captivity.”

Elated with this success, and in prosecution

“Vita S. Hug. c. 23.

“Muratori, an. 1195.

BOOK
IV.

of some plan which he seems to have formed with Richard, while he was a prisoner in his court, the emperor sent an embassy into Normandy. They brought a golden crown, of great value, to the English king, as a pledge of friendship from their master; and their instructions were, to propose an immediate attack on France, in which Henry would co-operate with a powerful army. Richard mistrusting the sincerity of the proposal, dispatched Longchamp, who still held the post of chancellor, to the German court, to procure certain information of the emperor's real designs. The negociation was void of success; but Philip hearing of it, declared the truce was broken, and recommenced hostilities. — Another inglorious campaign began, marked by similar devastations; and soon another conference was held. On this occasion, Adelais was, at last, released, whom her brother married to the count of Ponthieu. Some months after, the kings again met, and a treaty of peace was settled: but as it was broken, almost as soon as made, to specify its articles is unnecessary.

1196.

Nothing could allay the mutual animosity of these monarchs, which the slightest irritation roused, while the frontiers of both countries were made a scene of havoc. But they were in awe of each other's power, and feared to bring

their quarrels to the issue of a battle. — At the same time, the earl of Toulouse began to stir in the south; and the Bretons manifested a disposition to revolt. Richard had demanded the tutelage of his nephew Arthur, then ten years old, from what motives, does not appear, and he had imprisoned Constance, his mother and guardian, married to the earl of Chester. The Bretons implored the protection of France, and began hostilities: but the English king invaded the province, on which they withdrew with their prince⁴⁹. I have said, how romantic were the expectations that people had formed, from the airy circumstance of the name of Arthur. They watched his growth, and augured empire from his looks. The prophecies of old Merlin were to be fulfilled in the child. — The disturbances of Toulouse soon ended, when Richard gave to the earl his sister Jane, the queen dowager of Sicily. I have not said, that she had returned from Palestine, about two years before, with Berengaria and the Cypriot princess. They made some stay in Sicily; then went to Rome, where Celestine entertained them for almost six months, and sailing under the charge of one of his cardinals, they landed

BOOK

IV.

1196.

⁴⁹ Hoveden. 1196. Neubrig. l. 5. c. 16.

BOOK at Marseilles, and were thence safely conducted
IV. into Aquitaine⁵⁰.

1197. But Richard, by the money he had been able to extort from his subjects, now formed a formidable alliance. The young earl of Flanders joined him, and even the princes of the house of Champagne. But the vigor and activity of Philip could oppose this combination, and little was effected. — The most memorable incident was, the capture of the bishop of Beauvais, a martial prelate, and a near relation to the French king. Him Richard hated. He had ever shown himself his enemy, and it was he who, sent by Philip into Germany, had done his utmost to prolong his captivity. The time of retaliation was come. Richard loaded him with irons, and ordered him to be confined in a dungeon at Rouen. Two of his chaplains waited on the king to request, they might be permitted to attend their master in prison. “Yourselfes shall judge of my conduct,” said he to them: “His general behaviour to me I forget; but one instance I cannot. When detained by the German emperor, in consideration of my royal character, I was treated more gently, and with some marks of respect.

⁵⁰ Hoveden. an. 1194.

“ Your master came; and I soon experienced
 “ what was the design of his mission. Over
 “ night he had an interview with the emperor;
 “ and the next morning a chain was brought
 “ me, such as a horse would have hardly borne.
 “ What treatment he now deserves from my
 “ hands, say, if you are just.” The chaplains
 were silent, and withdrew. — But the prelate
 sent a messenger to Rome, not doubting, but
 his holiness would patronize the insulted mitre.
 The letter, he wrote, is curious. “ The king
 “ of England,” it says, “ whose irreverent
 “ treatment of his liege lord is known to all
 “ the churches, confiding in the apostate cohorts
 “ of his Brabanters, brought fire and sword
 “ into our country. When I saw it, mindful of
 “ the legal axiom, *fight for your country*, I joined
 “ the bands of citizens and the martial array of
 “ nobles, and met the enemy. But fortune,
 “ that step-dame of human counsels, frustrated
 “ our wishes. I was taken, and was bound in
 “ chains. Nor has the dignity of my order, or
 “ reverence due to God, been able to lighten
 “ their burden, or to give me relief. Thus,
 “ like a wolf, has he acted to me; nor is your
 “ holiness, I believe, ignorant of it. Why then
 “ do you dissemble?” He entreats him to
 avenge his cause; bewails his situation; and

B O O K infinuates, that a further delay may involve
IV. the pontiff in Richard's guilt.

1197. Celestine was not imposed on. He knew the bishop's character; and besides, conscious, of the ill-treatment which Richard had experienced, he had declared himself his protector; had excommunicated the duke of Austria; and threatened the emperor with a similar sentence, if he did not release the king's hostages, and even restore the money he had extorted from him. In his answer to the bishop, he expresses himself in warm terms; he censures Philip, who, contrary to the faith of treaties, had invaded the territory of his ally, while he was in Palestine and in prison; he praises Richard, and applauds his just indignation, to whose arms he wished success. "The event of your captivity," says he, "was disastrous; but what wonder? Laying aside the pacific prelate, you would put on the soldier. The shield, the sword, the coat of mail, pleased you best; the helmet rather than the mitre, and a spear in lieu of the pastoral staff. The order of things was inverted." He tells him, however, that he will write to the king to supplicate his release, or a mitigation of his confinement. "In the mean while," he concludes, "bear your

" chains

“ chains with patience, and be moderate ”. — **BOOK**
 He was afterwards ransomed. **IV.**

The confederates now gained many advantages, **1197.**
 and Philip, seeing the danger to which his
 provinces would be exposed, endeavoured to
 make a separate peace with the earl of Flanders.
 This he could not effect; but the earl promised
 to become a mediator. And again the kings met
 near Andeli on the Seine, and another truce for
 a year was settled. Thus, with a facility, which
 the nature of feudal armies can alone explain,
 did they pass from war to peace, and again from
 peace to all the outrages of the most inveterate
 enemies. And such they were; but their potent
 vassals were often actuated by other motives.

I have mentioned Andeli, which became the
 source of great altercation, and which, in the
 next reign, will be the theatre of a memorable
 siege. It was situated seven leagues above
 Rouen, and with the adjacent country, belonged
 to that see. Richard, as the French, in their
 incursions into Normandy, often came down
 the river, resolved to erect a castle on a rock,
 near Andeli on its banks; and at the same time,
 to fortify a little island, which lay in the stream.

“ Hoveden. Neubrig. c. 22.

BOOK The archbishop, though strongly attached to
IV. the king, and whom, as we have seen, he had
1197. essentially served, opposed the measure. The
 monarch proceeded; on which the prelate had
 recourse to the arms of the church, and, with an
 intemperate zeal, laid the whole province under
 an interdict. The office of the church ceased,
 and in the streets and high ways, says the
 historian, lay the bodies of the dead unburied.
 Richard, with great moderation, endeavoured
 to relieve his people; but not succeeding, he
 dispatched three bishops to plead his cause
 before the pope. He could not place it in hands,
 more inclined to serve him. The envoys met
 the archbishop at Rome, and both parties
 exposed their grievances, in a public consistory.
 The decision was favorable to the king; and
 the prelate was advised to compromise the
 dispute, by accepting such a compensation, as
 wise arbitrators should adjudge: for the king,
 it was observed, or any potentate, had a right
 to fortify any weak places, to secure the country
 from danger. They returned; and Richard, with
 his usual generosity, made an ample compensa-
 tion to the see of Rouen, giving, in exchange
 for Andeli, and its rock, and little island, the
 towns of Dieppe and Louviers, with their
 appurtenances, and other places. With alacrity,

he then resumed his works, on which was exerted the skill of the greatest engineers of the age: and on the island he raised another castle, in which he meant often to reside. To the castle on the rock he gave the name of Chateau Gaillard, intimating, that it should brave, with gaiety, the stoutest efforts of the enemy¹². When he could repose from the toils of war, here Richard spent his days, in tracing lines of defence, and in viewing the mighty bulwark rise. The milder arts of peace, which an imperfect polity and the languid state of society called for, he left in other hands. In his name; however, was a useful law, this year, made, which established one weight and measure, throughout the kingdom of England¹³.

About this time, an ambassador was sent by the emperor, who was in Sicily, to offer Richard an indemnification for the ransom he had forced from him, in whatever manner should please him best. The king had lately paid the remaining sum, and discharged the hostages. Celestine was the occasion of the extraordinary measure; for he had excommunicated Henry, nor would he relax the sentence, though the emperor had raised three armies, and sent them, under his

¹² Hoveden. Neubrig. c. ult.

¹³ Hoveden.

BOOK
IV.

generals, into Palestine. Saladin was dead, and his sons and brother contending for the empire, the moment seemed favorable for another crusade. But as the ambassador was on his journey, Henry died at Messina, and his body was refused a grave. "He shall not be buried," said the pontiff, "unless the king of England consent, and the hundred and fifty thousand marks be restored to him." How the affair ended, we are not told; but the untimely death of Henry, whose son was only in his third year, involved the empire and the church in another sea of troubles. The crusade ended as others had done.

1198.

Again was Richard in want of soldiers and money. The first he raised by a proclamation, that England should furnish him with three hundred knights, to remain one year in his service, or should levy a sum of money, whereby the king might be enabled to procure that number, at the rate of three shillings to each knight *per* day. No council was assembled to sanction the arbitrary measure. The bishop of Lincoln alone refused to comply, and he admonished the justiciary not to enforce the odious imposition⁵⁴. — The subsidy of money was

⁵⁴ Hoveden, an. 1198.

raised, by a tax of five shillings, on every hide of land, throughout England, (which hide measured something more than a hundred acres, and was commonly let at twenty shillings a year.) For this officers were appointed, and a severe inquiry taken in the several districts; when the country was said to consist of 243,600 hides. But some lands, such as the free fees of the parochial churches, were exempted from the tax ⁵⁵. Nor is here any council mentioned. — Rigorous researches were also made, to recover all debts due to the crown; and its various claims, under each head, were distinctly ascertained, such as forfeits, escheats, amerciaments, &c. The weight of these measures, says the historian, was felt from sea to sea ⁵⁶; yet were they followed by others, still more oppressive, because more tyrannical.

He revived the shameful forest-laws of his great-grand-father, Henry I. which the late king had mitigated. Armed with the terrors of absolute control, the foresters proceeded into every county, and the prelates, earls, barons, knights and freemen were commanded, in the king's name, to appear before them, to hear the royal

⁵⁵ Hoveden, an. 1198.

⁵⁶ Ibid.

BOOK mandates, and if summoned, to answer to their
 IV. charges. The punishment, on conviction for
 1198. killing game or wasting the wood in the forests,
 which the late king had remitted to the forfeiture
 of chattels, was again to be mutilation and the
 loss of sight; or rather, as it appears from a
 further clause in the statute, this punishment
 only regarded the killing of game, and waste
 was punishable by pecuniary fines. In all cases,
 the offender lay at the king's mercy, who could
 forgive or mitigate the penalty". — And here
 I must again observe, that no consent or advice
 of a council was asked, even in measures, which
 so nearly concerned the common interests of
 the nation, but the king repealed the late
 ordinance of his father, and revived an abrogated
 law with additional clauses, as if, in what
 regarded a supposed prerogative of the crown,
 he had been absolute lord of the persons and
 property of all his subjects. And such he deemed
 himself; such also, I believe, the constitution of
 the country then considered him.

As the truce ceased, hostilities recommenced,
 and were managed with an uncommon fury.
 Ordinary acts of desolation satisfied, no longer,
 these hardened princes; and they vented their

" Hoveden, an. 1198.

rage by putting out the eyes of their prisoners. But the arms of Richard, whom the confederacy still supported, were most successful. Near Gisors a battle was fought, wherein the French were defeated, and Philip, in the retreat, nearly lost his life. The bridge into the castle broke down, as he crossed it; and he was drawn with difficulty from the stream. "He drank, that day, of the water of the Epte," said Richard insultingly, in an account he wrote of the battle. Himself had unhorsed three knights at a single onset, and made them his prisoners. The country was then ravaged far and near; and the enemy retaliated.—But the primate, who lately, at the entreaty of the pontiff, had been dismissed from his high office, to which Geoffry Fitzpeter succeeded, coming into Normandy, undertook to pacify this inveterate animosity. His endeavours were not without success: when he was joined by a more able negociator, deputed from the Roman see. Eager to stop the further effusion of blood, and to draw these princes into another eastern expedition, the pontiff sent this minister. Who the pontiff was, I shall hereafter say. As the kings could not be disinclined from peace, they listened to the proposals of the mediators; and a day was fixed for a general interview."

"Hoveden. Gervas.

B O O K

IV.

1198.

There was in France a pious priest, to whom fame ascribed miraculous powers : who, at a word, could heal the sick and expel devils; and what was more, could prevail on the miser and usurer to give their money to the indigent, and look for treasures in heaven. He could also prophecy: and he warned the monarchs, that one of them would soon die, if they continued their hostile practices. Richard, who admired these extraordinary characters, received a visit from him. “ I exhort you,” said the priest, “ to marry
 “ off, as soon as may be, your three daughters,
 “ infamous as they are, lest something worse befall
 “ you.” — Hypocrite, replied the king; “ thy
 “ falshood is palpable: I have not a single
 “ child.” — “ You have three, I say,” answered the priest; “ pride, avarice, and luxury.” — Richard called to the nobles who were with him. “ Attend,” said he, “ to the admonition of this
 “ good man, who maintains, that I have
 “ three daughters, pride, avarice, and luxury,
 “ whom he commands me to dispose of. I will.
 “ I wed my pride to the Templars, my avarice
 “ to the Cistercian monks, and my luxury to
 “ the prelates of God’s church.” — How Fulco, such was his name, relished the witty reply, is not said; but the courtiers laughed, and the historian, who tells it, seems to have been scan-

dalized". The prophet was, soon afterwards, ill treated by the clergy of Lisieux, whose scandalous lives he censured, and by the military at Caen, but neither dungeons nor chains could hold him, and he went about preaching, and doing good.

Richard passed the christmas at Domfront, and Philip at Vernon; and the fourteenth of January was the day of interview. From Andeli, the English monarch sailed up the Seine, and Philip came on horseback, down its western bank. They met; and conversed familiarly, one from the side of his boat, and the other from his horse. The circumstance betrayed a want of confidence. As they were thinly attended, it seemed agreeable to both, that another day should be named for a more solemn decision of their differences. This they agreed on; when, on the day, Peter of Capua, cardinal legate of the holy see, and a train of nobles, attended. In the assembly was but one wish, that England and France should close their hostile contests. Still no peace was made; and the mediators were satisfied, that a truce of five years should be accepted; the terms of which were, that all things remained on their present footing. The

1199.
Terms of
peace.

¹¹⁹⁹ Hoveden.

BOOK kings consented, swore to observe the truce, and
IV. departing, mutually disbanded their armies.

1199. Richard had been served by a body of Brabanters. As these were returning homeward, under Marchadée their leader, they were attacked by some French noblemen, and many of them were killed. Marchadée rejoined his late master, and complained of the unjust treatment: but Philip declared he had no concern in it. The English monarch then, who was called into Aquitaine, left Normandy, and took the remaining Brabanters with him. On the way, he heard that Philip had begun to erect a fortress near the Seine, and had cut down part of a forest belonging to the king of England, which impeded his works. This was an obvious violation of the truce. Richard, therefore, marched back, and sent his chancellor, the new bishop of Ely, (for Longchamp was lately dead,) to tell the French monarch, that, if the works he had commenced were not instantly demolished, the truce was at an end. The legate also interfered; and Philip promised to comply with the just requisition. Richard was now sensible how unbinding was the compact they had formed, and that a measure of more efficacy must be adopted; wherefore, he proposed that a peace be concluded. A negotiation was opened, the proposals of which

were, that the king of France restore all the places he had taken, Gisors only excepted, in return for which he consents to give up to Richard the nomination to the see of Tours; that Louis, son to the French king, shall marry Blanche of Castille, Richard's niece; that Philip shall swear to assist Otho, Richard's nephew, and son to the late duke of Saxony, who was now contending for the sceptre of Germany; that the castle of Gisors shall be considered as Blanche's marriage-dower, and shall go with her to the French prince, to which the king of England shall likewise add twenty thousand marks of silver. Such were the conditions; but as Richard could not delay his journey into Aquitaine, it was agreed to put off their final adjustment, till his return. He never returned".

It was now that the king of France acquainted Richard, that his brother, the earl of Mortagne, was again treacherously deserting from him; and of this, he said, he had a written document which he could show. John, since the last reconciliation, had manifested every symptom of sincere amity and allegiance, and he had been reinstated in his vast possessions. Too lightly therefore did Richard give ear to an accusation,

" Hoveden, an. 1199.

BOOK

IV.

1199.

which might not be strictly true : he was enraged, and once more dispossessed him of his lands and honors. The earl was amazed, and demanded the cause of this sudden anger : of which being informed, he dispatched two knights to the French court. Their orders were, to deny the charge, and to vindicate, in arms, the honor of their prince, in whatever manner the court should determine. But neither the king, nor any champion in his court, would accept the challenge. No event could have proved more fortunate. Richard was convinced of his brother's innocence ; and in the moment a warm sentiment arose, of which the happy effects will be seen⁶¹. It is in itself probable, he had made overtures to Philip, though not in the decided form of treachery, which the latter had insinuated. Any thing may be believed of John ; but the king of France was a prince of too much character, to descend to a measure of revenge, so base and unmanly.

Richard dies.

While Richard was in Aquitaine, Vidomar, viscount of Limoges, his vassal, found a valuable treasure in his domain, part of which he presented to the king. He refused the present, and, as superior lord, laid claim to the whole,

⁶¹ Hoveden.

which the viscount would not surrender. Richard, whose mind never bent to opposition, with his wonted impetuosity marched an army against the castle of Chalus, which belonged to Vidomar; and where, he trusted, the treasure would be captured. The garrison offered to surrender; but the king replied, he would storm their fortress, and hang them up as thieves. In anguish they returned, and prepared despondingly for resistance. — The king, with his Flemish general Marchadée, then walked round the walls, exploring where an assault might best be made, and returned to his tent. He had been seen from the rampart, where a youth stood, by name Bertrand de Gourdon, who had charge of an engine. On it he laid a dart; raised his eyes to heaven; prayed, that God would protect their innocence, and drew the fatal cord. His aim, says a historian, was not distinctly pointed. But unfortunately, at the same instant, the king stepped from his tent; heard the cross-bow twang; and stooping his head; received the arrow in his left arm, just below the shoulder. He mounted his horse, and rode to his quarters, giving orders to Marchadée, instantly to assault the castle. He did so; and the castle was taken. He then ordered, as he had menaced, the whole garrison to be hanged, the man only excepted, by whom he

BOOK had been wounded, him probably meaning to
IV. reserve for a more painful death. During this
1199. space of time, which must have been of some hours, the dart was in Richard's arm. Intent on revenge and savage butchery, he had not heeded its smart; but now Marchadée's surgeon attended, the expertest practitioner, doubtless, in the army. Long did he labor to extract the arrow; when the wood parted, and the iron point remained in the wound. He had recourse to his knife, which he used freely, and drew away the iron. As yet there was little danger; but, in a few days, from unskilful treatment, and more, it is said, from a disordered habit of body, bad symptoms appeared, and a gangrene ensued, The life of Richard drew fast to its close⁶².

It was now his first solicitude, to settle the succession of his dominions, all of which he devised to John, requiring from those, who were present, an immediate oath of fealty to him, and commanding his castles to be surrendered into his hands, with three parts of his treasures. Such was the effect of the late favorable impression. To his nephew Otho, he left his jewels; and the remaining part of his treasure, to his servants and the poor. — Bertrand de

⁶² Hoveden. Gerv. p. ult.

Gourdon was then commanded to be brought in. He entered in chains, and stood before the dying monarch. "What had I done to thee," said the king to him, "to draw this vengeance from thy arm?" — The youth answered intrepidly: "My father, and my two brothers, you slew with your own hand: for me the like fate was intended. Now take what revenge you will: I shall bear joyfully any torments, if you only die, who have done such mischief." — "I forgive thee my death," said Richard: — "loose his chains, and put a hundred shillings in his purse." — But the savage Marchadée did not let him go; and after the king's death, he flaid him alive, and hanged him. — His last orders were now given. "Take my heart," said he, "to Rouen; and let my body lie at my father's feet, in the convent of Fontevraud." Resigned, and acknowledging his crimes, he expired. It was the sixth of April, the eleventh day after he had received his wound, the tenth year of his reign, and the forty-second of his age.

BOOK

IV.

1199.

With pleasure I take my leave of this turbulent and warring prince; and I am dispensed from the labor of delineating his character. His con-

His character.

"Hoveden. Diceto. Gerv.

B O O K temporaries did it in a single word, when they
 IV. called him the lion-hearted, *Cœur de Lion*.
 1199. Had they looked to the tiger, rather than to
 the lord of the forests, they would have found,
 indeed, a more apt similitude; but, in a romantic
 age, just appreciation was not to be expected.
 The heart of Richard was throughout savage:
 it possessed no elements of that noble magnani-
 mity, which has filled the breasts of heroes.
 His vices, which were numerous, undisguised
 and prominent, flowed in a ruffled stream
 from their source; and if he had the seeds of
 any virtue, overwhelmed in the current, they
 never sprang into life. Historians have said,
 that he was open, frank, generous, sincere,
 and brave. Considered as habits of the mind,
 he did not possess those qualities. When they
 appeared, it was but as momentary effusions, or
 as casual modes of the ruling passion. In certain
 descriptions, I am well aware, that I have
 softened down too much the rude lines, I had
 before me. I did it not to veil their truth, but
 when the eye, for some time, has dwelt on the
 roughest scenes, the harsh impression wears
 away, and we begin to be less disturbed, and
 less disagreeably affected.

The

The people of his dominions were so dazzled by the splendor of his achievements, which fame, as she conveyed their story from the east, generally loaded with much romantic coloring, that, for the honor, they thought, it reflected on themselves, they could not be too loyal and too subservient to his will. With alacrity they submitted to the heaviest burdens; and did not seem to feel, they were oppressed, and often insulted. Of the nine years he reigned; he did not pass more than four months in England: yet they were never drawn from their allegiance, though John, the presumptive heir to his crown, was present, and urged them to treason. Nor were his subjects in France less steady. Let this be compared with the events of the preceding reign, marred by internal broils, and incessant defections from a prince, who, weighed against Richard, might be called the father of his people. It was the vain splendor of his name, which endeared him to the nation, and the pity which his captivity had moved. Had he lived, they would have seen another crusade; and would have cheerfully resigned their last shilling, to promote the wild undertakings of their lion-hearted prince. To this he had engaged himself, when he left Palestine; and the disturbances in

BOOK IV. 1199. France had alone diverted his thoughts from the theatre of glory. — One certain document we collect from the history of this reign, which is, that the government of England was most unsettled; and that the forms of a council, or a species of representation, to which Henry seemed often to refer himself, originated from his own politic and prudential views, and not from a supposed order, which legislation had established. As they arose, it was my aim to mark such circumstances, as could help to develope the growing features of our government. The word *parliament* I studiously avoided. It occurs, I think, in one ancient author, who writes on the events of this period; but he lived posterior to the times “.

It was during the crusades, modern writers have observed, that the custom of using coats of arms was first introduced into Europe. The knights cased up in armour, had no way to make themselves be known and distinguished in battle, but by the devices on their shields; and these were gradually adopted by their posterity and families, who were proud of the pious and military enterprises of their ancestors. — Richard carried *three lions passant* on his shield, and he was the first of our kings who bore them.

“ Ioan. Bromton.

That he was a passionate lover of poetry, and himself a poet, is likewise said. I have not seen the sonnets which are ascribed to him; but their merit, I conceive, must be light. As to the provençal bards or Troubadours themselves, who were the first of the modern Europeans, that distinguished themselves by attempts of that nature, from the silence of our historians in their regard, it may be inferred, that they were held in little estimation. But this is not the place for a discussion, on which, hereafter, possibly, I may enlarge, shall the subject, on reflection, seem deserving of it.

BOOK
IV.
1199.

END OF BOOK IV.

T H E
H I S T O R Y
O F T H E
R E I G N
O F
K I N G J O H N.
B O O K V.
P A R T I.

Accession of John. — Inauspicious opening of his reign. — Innocent III. and the first transactions of his pontificate. — Peace with France. — John marries Isabella of Angouleme. — Cause of Ingeburga, queen of France. — John meets the king of Scotland at Lincoln, and makes a progress through the realm. — The barons show discontent, and John goes into Poitou. — Duke Arthur taken prisoner, and murdered. — Various reports of the murder, and its consequences. — Innocent espouses the cause of John. — The crusaders erect a new empire at Constantinople. — Normandy and other provinces taken by Philip. — A truce with France.

B O O K
V.

1199.

TH E earl of Mortagne was in Normandy, when his brother died. Conscious of his

imperfect title to the succession, and that his conduct had not secured the predilection of the people, the loss of a moment, he saw, might exclude him from the throne. In insincere and unavailing lamentations over Richard's grave, he spent no time; but sent Hubert the primate, who was with him, and William Marechal, into England, there, with Fitzpeter the justiciary, to maintain the tranquillity of the realm, and to awe the barons. Himself hastened to Chinon, where the late king's treasure was, which, with the castle, was delivered to him. But the barons of Touraine, Maine, and Anjou, met, and swore fealty to the duke of Bretagne, alledging, that it was the law of their provinces, that the son of the elder brother should succeed to his inheritance. This elder brother had been Geoffry, third son of Henry. The cities and castles followed their example, and declared Arthur their lord. He was but in his twelfth year; wherefore Constance, his mother, had recourse to Philip, who with his army was again on foot, and committed the youth to his care. He sent him to Paris, and in his name took possession of the provinces. — The earl of Mortagne, with the troops he had with him, furiously entered Maine, raised the

BOOK
V.

1199.
Accession of
John

BOOK walls and houses of its capital, and imprisoned
V. its citizens: but he could make no longer stay.

1199. He returned to Rouen; and on the twenty-fifth of April, nineteen days after Richard's death, was girt with the ducal sword of Normandy, by the archbishop, who, at the same time, encircled his brows with a golden coronet. This prelate, it will be recollected, had been the favored minister of the late king, and the earl's most strenuous opponent. The usual oath was then administered — to preserve inviolate the rights of the church, to administer justice, to annul bad laws, and to enact good ones. Thus was Normandy secured¹.

Eleanor, mean while, vigorous still and enterprising, had been in Aquitaine, where her interest was irresistible; when she joined the savage Marchadée with his mercenary bands, and entering Anjou, spread devastation. John was her favorite child; otherwise the little Arthur, it was thought, might have found an advocate in the breast of his grand-mother. — In England, the primate and his associates labored strenuously, and obtained from many nobles and inferior citizens, an oath of allegiance to John, duke of Normandy. But the general aspect

¹ Hoveden. Diceto, an. 1199.

was unpromising. The bishops, the earls, the barons, repaired silently to their castles. They were seen with their workmen, examining the walls; while men, arms, and provisions were conveyed into them. The triumvirate met at Northampton, to which place they summoned those noblemen, whose disaffection they apprehended most. They came: David, earl of Huntingdon, brother to the Scottish king, Richard earl of Clare, Ranulph earl of Chester, father-in-law to duke Arthur, William earl of Tutesbury, Waleran earl of Warwick, and William de Mowbray, with many more earls and barons. No more is recorded of the meeting, than that the ministers solemnly pledged their master's word, would the noblemen bear allegiance to him, that they should enjoy all their rights. *On this condition*, they swore to receive John for their sovereign².

What these rights were, is not said; nor do we discover whence arose the opposition, thus suddenly manifested. From no ideas of a superior claim in Arthur; or they would not have spoken of *their* rights only. It was dictated, probably, by a personal dislike to the prince, of whose character they had had experience. The intrepid

² Hoveden. Annal. de Margan.

B O O K spirit of Richard had long awed their turbulence;
V. and it was the weakest policy in the triumvirate
1199. to court their favor, by so immature a compliance with their wayward demands.

Immediately the duke came to England, on the twenty-fifth of May, and he found the nation assembled to celebrate his coronation. It was performed at Westminster. — “Hear all
 “ye people,” said the primate, rising from his seat: “It is well known, that no one can have
 “a right to the crown of this realm, unless,
 “for his extraordinary virtues, he be unani-
 “mously elected to it, and then anointed king,
 “as Saul was, himself the son of no king, nor
 “royally descended. Such also was David. And
 “so was it ordained, to the end, that he,
 “whose merit is pre-eminent, be the lord of all
 “the people. If, indeed, of the family of the
 “deceased monarch there be one thus nobly
 “endowed, he should have our preference.
 “This I have said, in favor of the noble earl
 “John, who is present, brother of our late
 “illustrious king, who left no issue. He possesses
 “prudence, and valor, and eminence of birth.
 “For these qualities, having invoked the holy
 “spirit, we unanimously elect him our king.”
 So saying, while the assembly applauded the harangue, he proceeded to the ceremony. The

usual oaths, to protect the church, to abrogate bad laws, and to administer justice, were tendered; when Hubert said: "I adjure you, in the name of God, and I enjoin you, not to undertake this high office, unless your mind be resolved to execute what your lips have sworn." — "With the assistance of heaven," replied John, "I will be faithful to my oath," — On the following day, homage was done to him; when instantly he repaired to St. Alban's, there to pray before the martyr's shrine: and the awful solemnity ended'. — The king was thirty-two years old.

If this account of John's *election* to the crown of England be true, of which may be entertained some doubt, from the silence of more contemporary historians, I view it as the artful device of the triumvirate, to conciliate to their prince the disaffected minds of the nobility. They would not speak of his hereditary right, lest the claim of Arthur might be rather urged; nor even of the will of the late king, which, at that time, might have been deemed to have given a sufficient title. A free and unanymous election would, at once, silence opposition, and be paramount to every pretension. Of precedents

³ Mat. Par. an. 1199.

B O O K they were little solicitous, which, they knew,
V. did not exist: but could they secure the crown,
1199. no jealous inquiries would be made, time would strengthen the nomination, and other measures might be adopted. The prince himself, we may presume, was privy to the whole design. Afterwards, when the primate was questioned concerning this extraordinary transaction, he replied, says the same historian, that he foresaw, and had secret intimations which told him, that John would abuse his power, and disturb the realm; and therefore, that his hands might be less free, he had proposed the measure of electing him to the throne*. A vain subterfuge to palliate a proceeding, which reason did not justify! — As to the right of Arthur, it was not generally admitted, as we may infer from the conduct of England and Normandy, after the three provinces, which adhered to him, had so decidedly announced their own resolution, founded, they said, on ancient usage. Richard, when in Sicily, had declared him his successor; but being returned to his dominions, he took no measures to secure to his nephew the title he had conferred, and dying, he left all to John. Thus, and by the preceding act, clearly

* Mat. Par. *ibid.*

signifying, that, in nominating his successor, as he was himself without issue, he had only his own inclinations to consult. Prince Arthur had now displeased him, and John possessed his heart. The authority of a will was great; but, as we have seen, the agents of the duke would not risk it; against the disaffection of a party, whose enmity they feared. But I must likewise remark, how inconsistent their conduct was; first, by every exertion to influence the nation to receive him as their king, and to swear fealty to him; and when he presented himself before them at Westminster, then solemnly to declare, that he had no right, but what their suffrages should freely confer.

John, however, was in possession of the object of his wishes; nor did he forget his benefactors. On the day of his coronation, he invested Fitzpeter in the earldom of Essex, and Mareschal in that of Pembroke; and the primate he named his chancellor. — But ambassadors arrived from the king of Scotland, William the Lion, no stranger to my reader, requesting the surrender of the provinces of Northumberland and Cumberland, which in the reign of Henry II. had been wrested from the patient hands of Malcolm. They had been held as a fief under England. If the king complied with

Inauspicious
opening of his
reign.

B O O K his wishes, their master, added the ambassadors;
V. would serve him faithfully; if not, he knew how
1199. to enforce the justice of his claim. John begged
 he might see their king; and sending the bishop
 of Durham, as he hoped, to meet him, he
 went himself to Nottingham. William refused
 to move: but he ordered other messengers to
 repeat his petition to the king, and to say that,
 if he had not a decisive answer, within forty
 days, the army he was collecting, should enter
 the English borders. The young monarch dis-
 regarded the bold menace, and commanding
 William de Stuteville to take charge of the two
 provinces, he embarked for France¹.

How portentous is the opening of this reign!
 On the continent, the defection of provinces,
 under a rival prince, and a potent protector: —
 At home, the lowering disaffection of a
 headstrong nobility: — On the northern fron-
 tier, a warlike prince, at the head of a ferocious
 people: — On the throne; a weak and a
 capricious king, not respected, not loved, not
 feared.

Philip, on the death of the English king,
 released from the truce he had made, had
 recommenced hostilities: besides, the protection

¹ Hoveden. Annal. Burton.

he had given to Arthur, would itself provoke animosity. John returned to Normandy with an army, where many crowded to his standard; and the earl of Flanders, with the other nobles, who had confederated with his brother, brought in their forces. The king of France consented to a truce of six weeks; at the expiration of which, on the sixteenth of August, the monarchs met. The behaviour of Philip was high and indignant, irritated that his vassal had not offered him homage for the duchy of Normandy; and the demands he made were inadmissible. He demanded the annexation of a wide territory to his own throne, and the surrender to Arthur of all his French possessions, Normandy excepted. No wonder, that they parted enemies.

There was an army in the field, commanded by William des Roches, in the name of Arthur. The fate of this youth has a charm, which commands our interest! Philip, in ravaging the country, destroyed a castle, which now belonged to the prince; at which the general expressed much anger, and either because he suspected the sincerity of that monarch, or it may be feared, from a more unworthy motive, he resolved to withdraw Arthur from his court.

* See Shakspeare's King John.

BOOK He effected it, pretending to the child and his
V. mother, that the king of England would be
1199. their surest friend. But on the very day he saw
 his uncle, it was whispered to the duke, that a
 dungeon was prepared for him. True or not,
 an alarm was taken, and in the silence of the
 night he was conveyed away, accompanied by
 Constance, and many others. They retired to
 Angers'. — Soon after this event, the pope's
 legate, who was still in France, again mediated,
 and procured another truce, which should extend
 to the feast of St. Hilary.

Innocent III.
and the first
transactions of
his pontificate.

Innocent III, who, for many years, will oc-
 cupy the foreground in the transactions of
 Europe, since the beginning of the last year,
 had been in the chair of St. Peter, a pope,
 whose actions will best portray his character,
 and of whom now I will only say, that he in-
 herited all the spirit, which had once filled the
 breast of Gregory VII*. When, on the death
 of Celestine, chosen for his talents, his learning,
 and his superior virtues, he was but in his
 thirty-seventh year, the age, indeed, of vigorous
 exertion, but what was deemed no recommen-
 dation to the sacred office. The empire, at that

* Hoveden.

* Hist. of Abeil. Vol. i. p. 23.

moment, was without a head; and Innocent seized the occasion to recover to his sea privileges and territory, which his immediate predecessors had been unable to retain. — In Rome, the first magistrate was invested by him in the prefecture of the city, (a charge which hitherto the emperor had conferred,) who then did homage to him. He nominated the other officers, and received from the people an oath of allegiance. In the towns of the patrimony of the holy see, and in the castles of the barons, the same ceremony was performed, and Innocent was acknowledged their sole sovereign. The authority which till now the emperors had claimed, and had often exercised, ceased within the walls of Rome, and in its adjacent territory⁹. — The Germans were in possession of the marquisate of Ancona and of the dutchy of Spoleto, with their dependances. Innocent, by menaces and a well-directed policy, expelled the intruders, whom the Italians hated, and re-annexed the provinces to his see. He then visited them in person, and every where received the homage of the people. — He confederated with the cities of Tuscany, whom the German tyranny had exhausted, and who now looked eagerly to the freedom, which the states of

⁹ *Gesta Innocent. n. 8. Murat. an. 1198.*

BOOK Lombardy enjoyed. His letter to them opens
 V. thus curiously: "As God, the creator of the
 1199. "universe, placed two great luminaries in the
 "firmament, the greatest to rule over the day,
 "and the less over the night: so, in the
 "firmament of the universal church, he has
 "established two great dignities, the greater
 "to rule over souls, which are days, and the
 "less over bodies, which are nights. These
 "two dignities are the *pontifical*, and the *regal*,
 "powers. But as the moon, which, in all
 "things, is inferior to the sun, draws her light
 "from him; so does the regal power derive
 "the splendor of its dignity from the pontifical
 "source ¹⁰." On such allegorical jargon rose
 the theory of papal monarchy! — Innocent,
 by these active proceedings, gave a lustre to the
 tiara; and other towns having submitted to his
 control, he reviewed the general state of his
 revenue, committed the administration to able
 officers, strengthened the barrier and maritime
 places, attended in person to the decision of
 causes and the distribution of justice; and thus
 gaining the affections of the people, he could
 reward and encourage virtue, and strike a terror

¹⁰ Baron. Annal. Eccles.

to the heart of vice. He was firm, magnanimous, liberal, insinuating".

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V.

1199.

On the death of Henry, the late emperor, his queen Constance took possession of the kingdom of Sicily, her claim to which has been related, and she prevailed on the Sicilians also to crown her son. He was an infant, in his third year, named Frederic after his grand-father; and the time will be, when Europe shall see him the greatest monarch of the age. The kingdom of Naples, it is known, was a fief of the holy see. Constance, therefore, by her ambassadors, humbly entreated the pontiff to grant to herself and son the investiture of its different provinces, on the same terms, as her predecessors had received it. By a formal compact between the kings of Sicily and the Roman see, which three successive popes had entered into or confirmed, the crown enjoyed certain ecclesiastical privileges. It elected bishops, it possessed legatine powers, it heard appeals, and it convoked councils. Innocent saw, with pain, this alienation of privilege from his own court, and he was willing to retrench it. But the circumstance clearly announced to him, that what his

" Gesta Inn. ap. Murat.

BOOK V. 1199. predecessors had granted to a temporal prince, did not essentially appertain to the holy see. He informed Constance that, unless she surrendered these rights of her crown, he must refuse the investiture. It was an ungenerous proceeding; and Innocent, the greatest canonist and civilian of the age, could not be ignorant, that a compact of such importance was not to be broken. In vain did the empress strive, by presents, by prayers, by arguments, to prevail on the extortionary priest. She could obtain nothing, only on terms of great rigor, with which she could not refuse compliance. But as the negociators returned, and with them a legate to execute the papal mandate, Constance died, and dying named Innocent the guardian to her infant son. There was great policy in the measure: for his claim must be at once suspended; and it did not seem, that a more active or more powerful guardian could be chosen, to protect the tender years of the prince¹².

Germany was a scene of discord. — Before the death of his father, this same infant had been chosen king of the Romans; and his uncle, Philip duke of Suabia, was appointed regent, during the minority. But now appeared

¹² Gesta, ibid.

the deep intrigue and political views of Innocent. Should this disposition of things prevail, he reasoned, and the crown of Sicily be united, on the same head, to the imperial diadem, and that in the house of Suabia, which had been ever hostile to the power of Rome, an interest must be formed against the latter, too irresistible for any policy. Hitherto, the kingdom of Naples, had, in every emergency, supported the tiara, on which it was dependent, and to which it owed many favors; but more from a well-founded jealousy of the imperial court, which long had seemed to aim at the empire of Italy. Measures then must be taken to obstruct the completion of this alarming event. Frederic, it is true, was committed to his charge; and, in honor, he must promote his interest. He would do it, as far as this charge extended, which was to the throne of Sicily only. He had, besides, near to his heart an interest, which was paramount to every other; namely, the interest of the Roman see. To extend this, and to guard it, as far as might be, against every possible diminution, must be the ardent labor of his life. — Thus he reasoned, and formed his plan. A new king of Germany should be chosen, on whom might descend the imperial dignity;

B O O K

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and his ward should be satisfied with the crown of Sicily.

But Philip, duke of Suabia, who suspected these designs, and whom ambition urged to the measure, was able to persuade the German states to elect him their king. No one, indeed, could be better qualified; but it was a step, on both sides, ungenerous and faithless. He was uncle to Frederic, and in Germany the guardian of his empire; and they, unanimously, but a year before, had conferred this empire on him. Innocent, with indignation, heard the news; for though it, in part, realized the scheme he had himself projected, Philip was, by no means, the person he would have chosen. He was of the house of Suabia, which Rome and all the Italian states had reason to execrate; and before his brother's death, he had invaded certain districts of the holy see, for which he now lay under a sentence of excommunication. He prevailed, therefore, on the archbishop of Cologne and other nobles, to oppose the election of Philip, and to raise against him a competitor. They assembled, and chose Otho, of the house of Saxony, second son of Henry the Lion, and nephew to the king of England. Thus was laid the foundation of an inveterate contest. On the side of Philip was by far the major part of the

German states, and in Italy the Ghibelin **BOOK**
faction, and the interest of the French court. **V.**

Otho was supported, in Germany, chiefly by the ecclesiastical princes, by the pontiff and the Guelfs, and by the gold of England, which Richard had largely distributed¹³. — I have mentioned the Guelfs and Ghibelins, two powerful factions in Italy, the former on the side of liberty, and the latter on that of the imperial power, and which, for many years, will be seen to wave the banner of discord, and to perpetuate the horrors of war.

Thus passed the first years of Innocent, and they have displayed, I trust, his character. We shall see it unfold more and more. He had also an eye to Palestine, for the concerns of Europe could not engross his thoughts; and his agents, in the different kingdoms, were busily employed in forwarding the holy work. In France, his legate had been successful; and what other business here roused his zeal, shall be related.

The kings, as the truce expired, had again held a conference, in which the treaty of marriage with Blanche of Castille had been finally settled, and the preliminaries of a peace

1200.
Peace with
France.

¹³ Gesta, ut sup. Chron. Ursperg, &c.

BOOK V. 1200. proposed. To negotiate with Alphonso and to conduct the princess into France, no one was judged so proper as the yet active Eleanor. She departed, while winter was most inclement; visited the Spanish court; and before easter was returned to Bourdeaux with her grand-daughter. But the journey had fatigued her; wherefore, leaving her charge in the hands of the archbishop, she proceeded herself to Fontevraud, to which holy repository had lately been consigned, the remains also of her daughter Jane, countess of Toulouse, dowager queen of Sicily. — Peace was now concluded, on the same terms, as that with Richard, some years before, only that a new line of separation was drawn between Normandy and France. The other articles are of little moment. — Then arrived the princess at her uncle's court, and a more solemn meeting was appointed, soon after midsummer, whereat Philip surrendered to the English monarch the city of Evreux, which he had lately taken, and its earldom, and all the castles, and towns, and territory, which his arms had conquered. John bent his knees, and did homage for them; and instantly, as it had been previously agreed, gave back the whole, as the marriage-portion with his niece, adding to it the sum of thirty thousand

marks in silver¹⁴. — Seldom had so lavish and improvident a contract been made; for France thus became possessed of many valuable and strong fortresses in the neighbouring provinces; while the lady had herself parents, better able than John, to endow their daughter.

B O O K
V.
1200.

But he was not so generous to his nephew Otho, now contending for the German empire, whom not to aid by men or money he, on this occasion, solemnly promised. Even when he sent to demand the fiefs which Richard had given to him, and the legacy mentioned in his will, the base prince pretended that, by virtue of the oath he had made to Philip, he must refuse to comply. — The cause of Arthur was, at the same time, sacrificed by the French king, intent only on his own aggrandizement. To John returned the provinces, which had first declared for the duke, while he remained in possession only of Bretagne; for which he did homage to his uncle, as duke of Normandy, who consented that the youth should continue, under the tutelage of Philip¹⁵.

John had been, many years, married to Avifa, heiress of the house of Gloucester, and a

John marries
Isabella of
Angouleme.

¹⁴ Hoveden. an. 1200. Diceto. Annal. de Margan.

¹⁵ Hoveden. Annal. Burton.

BOOK dispensation from Rome, which was thought
 V. necessary, had sanctioned the union. From what
 1200. motives, is not said, he now found bishops who
 would dissolve this marriage, on pretence of
 consanguinity, which the original dispensation
 had relaxed. Thus free, he dispatched a brilliant
 embassy into Portugal, to demand the daughter
 of that crown, of whose accomplishments fame
 spoke loudly. The embassy departed; and the
 king, to wear away the dreary interval, at the
 head of a powerful army, marched through the
 provinces, into Aquitaine. Every where they
 received him as their lord. But at Angouleme
 his heart was taken. The earl of that name had
 a daughter, Isabella, long affianced to the count
 of la Marche. This was an obstacle; but John
 declared his love; the father consented; and
 Isabella, seduced from the castle of her future
 husband, who, respecting her tender years, had
 not married her, was presented with the crown
 of England. The nuptials were celebrated at
 Angouleme, the archbishop of Bourdeaux offici-
 ating, who had been the principal agent in the
 divorce¹⁶. How the embassy was managed, we
 are not told. — Hence the army, with their
 king, proceeded southward. He received the

¹⁶ Hoveden. Diceto. Annal. Burton.

homage of the earl of Toulouse for the dower, which had been given with his late wife, Jane of Sicily, to remain for ever in his family, under the condition of serving the king with five hundred knights, in his wars in Aquitaine. He then turned towards the north, taking hostages from the lately revolted provinces, and arrived at Rouen, in all the splendor of triumph. Nor did he remain here. England should witness his glory and the beauty of his queen. With her, therefore, he sailed, in the month of October; and soon after their landing, they were together crowned at Westminster, by the hands of the primate¹⁷.

France, for many months, had been in a state of perplexity. It will be recollected, that Philip, after the death of his first queen, had married Ingeburga, princess of Denmark, with whom he never cohabited, and from whom, prevailing on the bishops of his realm, he had obtained a divorce. She was said to be fourth cousin to the deceased Isabella. The king of Denmark carried his complaints to Rome; and Celestine then pope, roused, with some difficulty, to espouse the cause of the injured princess, finally annulled the sentence of divorce. But Ingeburga,

Cause of Ingeburga, queen of France.

¹⁷ Hoveden. Annal. de Margan.

BOOK mean while, was confined in a convent, without
 V. the limits of France, at a distance from every
 1200. friend, and unprotected; and Philip had the
 audacity to take another lady to his arms, Agnes
 of the house of Meranie. At this time, Innocent
 came to the papal chair. Alive as he was to
 every impression, he ardently espoused the cause
 of Ingeburga, and became her champion. But it
 was not with the usual arms of chivalry that he
 fought. He admonished the king to remove the
 adulteress, and to take the queen into favor,
 having first examined the documents, which
 were said to establish the consanguinity of the
 queen. Philip disregarded the paternal admo-
 nition; on which the legate was commanded to
 lay the kingdom of France under an interdict.
 At once, all religious service ceased; the
 churches were shut; and the dead lay unburied
 on the ground. The king remonstrated, appeal-
 ed, seized the livings of the clergy, and with
 a high hand, forbade all obedience to the
 sentence. But neither money, nor menaces, nor
 promises prevailed: the sentence was obeyed;
 and Innocent triumphed in his superior power.

“Your majesty must submit;” exclaimed the
 prelates and nobles, whose advice he had asked.
 He did submit; and the interdict was suspended,
 at the end of eight months, on condition that

the king made satisfaction to the ecclesiastics he had injured; that those who had disobeyed the sentence should present themselves before his holiness; that Agnes be dismissed; that Ingeburga be treated as queen, whose cause should be again examined, by the decision of which he should abide.

A council met at Soissons. On one side was Philip, with the prelates and nobles of the land; on the other, Ingeburga with some bishops, and a retinue of friends, whom her brother had sent from Denmark. The cardinal legate presided. Canonists from both courts were appointed to manage the debate; and a numerous audience stood in silent expectation. Ingeburga was uncommonly beautiful, and the hard treatment, she had experienced, was known. Philip rose. "I demand to be separated from that lady," said he, "to whom I am related within the prohibited degree." — The Danish ministers replied, detailing the particulars of the marriage-treaty, and the solemn promises which had been made; and then showing, that the allegation of kindred was most unfounded. But they saw in the legate's countenance, a predetermined partiality to the king. "We appeal from that judge," they said, "to

BOOK "the pope." Ingeburga repeated the same
V. words; and thus the session ended.

1200. Three days after, came another legate, a man of unshaken probity, and who refused the presents which Philip offered. The meeting was resumed: but the Danes, in consequence of their appeal, were gone; and Ingeburga was without an advocate. The king's council pleaded, and after many words, sitting down, called for a reply. No one rose. The queen's charms could give eloquence to no tongue. An ecclesiastic, at length, whom no one knew, meanly habited, and of a humble aspect, raised his voice in the crowd, and begged permission to be heard. It was granted. With a flow of oratory he spoke; unfolded the intricacies, in which the question had been involved; repelled objections; demonstrated what the law was; and while admiration had seized the audience, he carried conviction to the breasts of the judges. They retired to prepare the sentence. — It was now signified to the king, that judgment would be pronounced against him. He, therefore, departed in haste, taking Ingeburga with him, and ordering the legates to be told, that he was satisfied, and should acknowledge her for his queen. Nothing more was done. But he confined this queen in

the royal castle of Etampes, where she was BOOK
V. treated with respect, though secluded, not from his society only, but from all free intercourse with the world. Innocent often wrote to her, and unceasingly urged the king to be kind to her, and to remember she was queen of France¹⁸.

In this same year died Agnes, whom Philip had dismissed, leaving two children, who were afterwards legitimated. What was the real cause of his dislike to Ingeburga is only related on surmise: but the means which were used in her favor, could not possibly give life to any sentiment of affection. The reader may be pleased to hear that, twelve years after, they were reconciled. — I made no remarks on the unchristian practice of punishing kingdoms, in the manner France was, for the transgressions of their princes; nor on the deference shown to the ecclesiastical sentence; nor on the boundless sway of power, which Innocent possessed, over the greatest princes of the earth.

After the ceremony of his coronation, John had sent an embassy into Scotland, hoping that William, whose resentment he feared, might be induced to visit him. It had been expected, he

1201.

John meets
the king of
Scotland at

¹⁸ Gest. Innocent. n. 49, &c. ap. Murat. Hoveden.

BOOK would have invaded the northern provinces;
 V. but in a night he spent before the shrine of
 1201. Saint Margaret, he felt himself admonished not
 Lincoln, and makes a pro- to hazard the expedition; and he had disbanded
 gress through the realm. his army. Pleased with this attention of an
 embassy, he now complied with John's request,
 and met him at Lincoln, to which place the
 king had come to receive his royal guest. A more
 august assembly had seldom been seen. — There
 was a popular belief, that great calamities
 would fall on the king, who should enter the
 walls of Lincoln. Stephen had despised the
 superstitious notion, and his reign was miserable:
 and Henry, his successor, more prudent and
 sagacious, being at Lincoln, was not willing to
 risk the dangerous trial. But his son, on this
 occasion, against the advice of many, boldly
 passed the ominous gate, and offered a golden
 chalice on the new altar of St. John. — The
 kings then ascended Bore-Hill, which was soon
 covered by spectators innumerable. They
 conversed while the prelates and nobles stood
 round; and William, kneeling down, pronoun-
 ced the usual oath of allegiance, whereby he
 renewed his vassalage, swearing on the cross of
 Hubert of Canterbury, to bear true fealty to his
 liege lord, and to maintain the peace of both
 kingdoms, *saving his own right*. Three archbishops,

thirteen bishops, and twenty-nine noblemen of both realms, whose names are recorded, besides many others, and the crowd of spectators, witnessed the extraordinary act. The royal vassal then rising from the ground, petitioned, that the counties of Northumberland, Cumberland, and Westmoreland, be restored to him, as his just inheritance. A debate ensued; but nothing was determined; and the king requested, he might be allowed some months to deliberate. Early, on the following morning, William departed with the same noble escort, which had attended him through England¹⁹. — For what lands he did this homage, unless for his own kingdom of Scotland, cannot be shown; for he possessed not, at that time, a foot of earth in this country. But why, thus voluntarily, he again subjected himself to a vassalage, from which, by an authentic charter, he had been released by the late king, is not easily understood. It must have been from the hope, that the act of submission would move the king to comply more readily with his request.

The king of Scotland was departed, when messengers arrived, announcing the approach of the citizens of London, with the body of Hugh,

¹⁹ Hoveden. Annal. de Margan. Chron. Walt. Heming.

B O O K

V.

1201.

bishop of Lincoln. He has been, more than once, mentioned, and due praise has been given to his virtues and to his exemplary conduct. Returning from the Chartreuse of Grenoble²⁰, whither he had been to visit his brethren, (for he was of the Carthusians order), he fell sick in London, and died. John went to see him in his illness, and he confirmed his will, which was then necessary to give it validity. Hugh had requested to be buried in the new church at Lincoln, which himself had built, and from a respect to his high character, the citizens of London would attend him to his grave. As the procession came near to the city, the king and all his nobles went out to meet it. The bearers halted; when John, assisted by his attendants, took the bier on his shoulders, and bore it forwards. They were relieved by other noblemen, who proceeded to the porch of the great church. Here were the prelates, in their hallowed robes, who received the precious burden, and conveyed it to the middle of the choir. On the next day the ceremony of interment was performed²¹. — The reader will not be surpris'd to hear, that miracles, round the shrine of the worthy bishop, were

²⁰ Hist. of Abeil. Vol. i. p. 130.

²¹ Hoveden. Diceto. Annal. de Margan.

said

said to be performed, as numerous as the credulity of the age was great.

From Guildford, where the monarch spent the christmas, we now follow him, in a progress through the kingdom; and Isabella was the attendant of his journey. They were again at Lincoln; crossed the Humber into Yorkshire; were at Beverley, at Scarborough, and proceeding northward, visited the extreme boundaries of the realm. It was in the most inclement months of winter. But not for pleasure, or to show his fair partner only, did he travel. Oppression marked his steps: expensive entertainments drained the purses of the people; and he every-where exacted large sums, on pretence of trespasses in his forests. Before this, he had demanded an aid of three shillings, on every hide of land. At York, through which he returned, his brother the son of Rosamond, met him, and a reconciliation took place. The high-minded prelate had not allowed the above aid to be levied within his liberties; he had given many other causes of offence; and as to his general conduct, it had continued to be insolent to his inferiors, hostile to the higher clergy, and indecorous to himself. But it was not, without a heavy amer-
ciamment, that he gained his brother's favor. —

B O O K Easter now approached, when the royal travellers
V. hastened back to the south, and again were
1201. crowned at Canterbury, Hubert, as usual, performed the ceremony; and at his own costs entertained munificently the whole court, and the numerous attendants²².

The barons
 show discon-
 tent, and John
 goes into
 Poitou.

The cloud, which we saw at a distance, now began to gather more visibly. News had come, that the barons of Poitou were in arms; and on this John commanded, that the earls, and barons, and military tenants of his realm, should be ready with their arms and horses, in whitfun-week, at Portsmouth, to sail to the continent. The late arbitrary, though, perhaps, warrantable, imposition of three shillings, and the more recent oppressions in the north, joined to the prodigality and ungracious demeanour of their prince, had still more soured the sullen humor, with which, at his accession, the nobles received him. The summons of attending their lord to France was, they knew, no breach of privilege; but it did not please them, and they assembled at Leicester. On this they debated, and came to an unanimous resolution, which they signified to the king: "That they would not sail with him, unless he restored to them their rights." —

²² Hoveden, an. 1201. Diceto, p. ult.

What these were, remained still unexplained. **BOOK**
 But so unsettled was the concert, they had **V.**
 formed, that John could break it by a menace. **1201.**
 He ordered these refractory vassals to surrender
 their castles: to save which they gave their
 children into his hands, as hostages for their
 future fidelity; and, on the appointed day,
 were ready at Portsmouth. From this place,
 many were permitted to return home, on paying
 a scutage, the money they would have expended
 in the service; and the rest embarking with the
 king and Isabella, sailed to Normandy²³.

Near Andeli, the French king received them,
 and they waited on him at Paris, where every
 attention was exhibited, Philip relinquishing his
 own palace for their more commodious accom-
 modation. And here also the articles of the last
 peace were confirmed anew, under a more
 solemn guarantee of the barons of both nations.
 — Berengaria, the young dowager queen, has
 been long out of sight. Now she came to the
 king at Chinon, to which place he went on
 leaving Paris, where the object of her visit, viz.
 the settlement of her dower, was honorably
 completed. It does not appear, that she was
 ever in England, of which she had been, some

²³ Hoveden. Annal. Burt.

BOOK years, queen. Bayeux, with its dependences,
 V. and two castles in Anjou, and a thousand marks,
 1201. to be paid half-yearly, were settled on her²⁴.

The disturbances in Poitou and Aquitaine continued; at the head of which was Hugh de la Marche, the baron, from whose arms John had ravished his queen, the beautiful Isabella. To chastise the rebels, the king advanced with his army; but he did not mean to engage in the toil of fighting battles and of storming forts. He had hired, and brought with him from England and other countries, champions, men expert in the use of arms; and as he entered Poitou, he halted, and forming his court, sent challenges to the principal rebels, first charging them with the crime of treason to himself and to the late king. The mode of warring was unprecedented, and in the true spirit of chivalry. But the barons, apprized of the insidious purpose, refused to appear, alledging that they were ready, indeed, to vindicate their honor; but that they should not contend with any but their peers. Thus illuded, the weak prince returned into Normandy, leaving Robert de Turnham behind him, to oppose the malecontents. Their disaffection

²⁴ Hoveden, Annal. Burt.

gained strength and numbers from the insolent measure, and its pusillanimous prosecution²⁵.

BOOK

V.

1201.

Another legate came into France, deputed from his holiness, to raise further supplies for the holy land. The kings readily promised a fortieth part of their annual revenue; and John ordered his chief justiciary Fitzpeter, now earl of Essex, to levy a similar contingent on his English subjects. It had been done in France. The instructions addressed by the justiciary to the sheriffs and bailiffs, of the different towns and counties, are conveyed in the most artful terms. He suspected, it is evident, that a precept would not have been complied with. "At the earnest request of a cardinal from the pontiff," he says, "and with the advice of his nobles in France, our king has granted a fortieth part of the value of all his revenues, for the use of the holy land. His subjects there have voluntarily done the same; and at their prayer it is, that he has written to his nobles here, begging and exhorting them, with a pure heart, and from a motive of benevolence, to accomplish the same good work. It is not to be granted, nor is it asked on any pretence of right, or custom, or compulsion, or of any authority whatever from the court of Rome." The mode

²⁵ Hoveden. Annal. Burt.

BOOK

V.

of levying the subsidy is then distinctly appointed; after which the particular sums were to be registered with the names of the persons, and their respective possessions, rated according to their annual value. They who paid this tax, and consequently every other, were earls, barons, military tenants or knights, and free tenants, otherwise called socmen: such of the clergy also, who possessed lay-fees. The justiciary finally orders, that the names of those shall be registered, and sent up to him, who may refuse to comply with the king's petition²⁶. — The instrument is curious, and closes the history of the minute and accurate Roger Hoveden. With reluctance I quit his honest page.

1202.

Duke Arthur
is taken pri-
soner, and
murdered.

The late peace had seemed to promise some years of tranquillity to both countries: but powers so constituted, as those of France and England were, could not possibly be friends. Philip was ambitious, and his rival was a weak prince. The latter, besides, had now lost his confederates, particularly the earl of Flanders, who had taken the cross, and was departing, with many others, to Palestine. The barons of Aquitaine were in arms, and they called on their suzerain lord, the French monarch, to aid them against the oppression of their immediate sovereign. And the claims of duke Arthur might, at all times, be made a source

²⁶ Hoveden, p. ult.

of plausible contention. On the mind of a politic prince, against these motives, the obligations of a treaty would weigh as nothing. Philip, resolved not to let pass the favorable occasion, in an interview with the English king, made on him the most exorbitant and unprovoked demands. In a moment, peace was at an end, and the French forces entered Normandy. Castles, as usual, were taken; while John made some resistance; but Gournai, a place of great strength, finally fell. Here the young duke joined his protector, and receiving from him the honor of knighthood, he was girded with the soldier's sword. At the same time, Philip promised him his daughter in marriage, Mary, an infant by Agnes de Meranie; and investing him in the duchy of Bretagne, which he held under his uncle, as also in the earldoms of Poitou and Anjou, the youth did homage for them in the hands of Philip. "Here," then said the king, "are two hundred knights; march with them, and take possession of the provinces which are your's". It was now the middle of summer.

The military band instantly entered Poitou, where hearing that the castle of Mirebeau was an object deserving of their first attention, it was resolved to besiege it. Queen Eleanor was there.

²⁷ Mat. Par. an. 1202. Guil. Armor. Annal. Waver.

BOOK Fontevraud, with its pious recluses, and the
V. gloomy monuments of her deceased husband and
1202. children, had not detained her long. Mirebeau
soon surrendered; but Eleanor had retired, with
some chosen soldiers, to a tower which would
not be so easily taken. Her unfriendly behaviour
to Constance, the mother of Arthur, and the
violence with which she had espoused, on a late
occasion, her son's succession to the throne,
justified this hostile attack. Arthur drew his men
round the tower; and while he prepared to assault
it, he was joined by the earl of la Marche, with
a powerful reinforcement. Still resistance was
made, and Eleanor had the address to dispatch a
messenger into Normandy, to inform John of her
perilous situation. At the head of an army, he
flew to her relief, and was within sight of Mire-
beau, before the enemy had been apprized of
his march. A battle ensued, fiercely fought on
both sides, in which Arthur bravely flung his
maiden sword; but the fortune of the king
prevailed. The duke was captured, and the earl
of la Marche, and the English historians say,
the whole force of the enemy. They were sent
into different prisons, in Normandy and England;
and the castle of Falaise received the expiring
hope of Bretagne²⁸.

²⁸ Mat. Par. Ypodig. Neufr.

The unexpected success filled the English monarch with delight, as it did Philip with confusion. The latter retired to Paris; and John, after some days, repaired to Falaise. He ordered his nephew to be brought to him. With gentleness he spoke to him, exhorting him to renounce the friendship of Philip, and to prefer an interest, at once more honorable and more natural: "For I am
 " your uncle," continued he, "and your liege
 " sovereign. Be faithful only to me, and I will
 " heap honors on your head." — The ill advised youth sternly replied: "Give me back the
 " crown of England, and all the lands, which
 " my uncle Richard held, on the day he died.
 " They are my just inheritance; and till they be
 " restored, I swear, you shall never long live in
 " peace." — Troubled and provoked by the haughty answer, the king commanded his nephew to be taken to Rouen, and to be more strictly guarded. He was never more heard of²⁹.

The secrecy which veiled this murderous deed, while it added to its atrocity, gave rise to conjectures and reports, which, as the imagination formed them, were peculiarly affecting and lamentable. Tale grew out of tale, and the more accumulated it was, the more it was credited.

1203.

Various reports of the murder, and its consequences.

²⁹ Mat. Par. 1203.

B O O K

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1203.

The uncle, men said, was the murderer of his nephew. They talked of a dark night; of a boat rowing to the foot of the tower, where Arthur lay; of shrieks heard; and of fishermen, who had found the bloody corpse. A general horror seized the minds of all. But the Bretons were most affected. They had lost their darling prince, whose name, with a superstitious veneration, they had learned to cherish; Constance, his mother, was lately dead; and Eleanor his sister, called the *damsel of Bretagne*, was in the hands of her murderous uncle. The nobles assembled at Vannes, and Guy de Thouars, last husband of the deceased dutchess, appeared at their head. He held in his arms Alice, a little infant, whom Constance had borne to him. The tale of the late assassination was now told, we may presume, and probably with the following circumstances, which are still related in the country. John, they said, to screen the deed he meditated, taking his nephew from the dungeon in Rouen, proceeded with him towards Cherbourg, viewing the coast, as he passed along. Late, one evening, followed by a few attendants, whom he had commanded not to approach, they came to a high cliff, which overhung the sea. The king looked down the precipice; drew his sword; and riding furiously

against the prince, stabbed him. Arthur cried for mercy, and falling to the ground, the murderer dragged him to the brink, and hurled him, yet breathing, into the waves below³⁰.

B O O K

V.

1203.

The Bretons stood in need of no incentive to their just indignation. They unanimously swore to revenge their prince's death; they chose the infant Alice, for their sovereign; named Guy, her guardian, and the general of their confederacy; and at once resolved to carry their complaints before Philip, their suzerain lord, and to demand justice. He listened to their petition; and summoned John to a trial before his peers, as a vassal of the French crown. The process was in the regular order of feudal justice. But the ill-fated monarch did not appear; on which, with the concurrence of the barons, this sentence was pronounced on him: "That John, duke of Normandy, unmindful of his oath to Philip his lord, had murdered his elder brother's son, a homager to the crown of France, within the feigniory of that realm; whereon he is judged a traitor, and as an enemy to the crown of France, to forfeit all his dominions which he held by homage, and that re-entry be made by force of arms³¹."

³⁰ Argentré, Hist. de Bretag. c. 78. Annal. de Margan.

³¹ Vit. Phil. Mat. West. an. 1202. Annal. de Marg.

BOOK

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1203.

Philip, when the season would permit, entered Normandy; and the Bretons, co-operating with his designs, laid waste the neighbouring country. But no resistance was made: the castles opened their gates, and the towns every where received the victors. John, in the mean while, supinely indolent and immersed in pleasure, was at Caen, not solicitous, by any defence, to remove the charge of murder from his name, nor heeding the progress of the enemy's arms. "Let them proceed," said he listlessly; "in a single day, I will retake all their conquests." The English barons, who were with him, having in vain urged him to action, would no longer witness these dishonorable scenes. They obtained permission, and returned into England. He had now few soldiers left near his person; but he came to Rouen, smiling before the citizens, though every day brought the news of fresh disasters. "The king," the people said, "was infatuated by some spell or witchcraft." Isabella, only, never parted from his side³². Thus passed the summer-months.

Innocent
espouses the
cause of John.

But John, whom neither honor nor the preservation of his states could animate, had implored, ingloriously, the aid of Rome. Innocent espoused his interest; and by two envoys, whom he

³² Mat. Par.

deputed to the French court, he commanded Philip to convene an assembly of his vassals, and to cease from hostilities. The duke of Burgundy and other nobles resisted the incongruous mandate, advising Philip not to listen to measures, which came thus recommended, and that they would oppose any violence, which should be offered to the independence of his crown. An answer, therefore, was returned, "that the quarrels of princes regarded not the see of Rome, and that in the concerns of his vassals, the king would attend to no orders from that source." — The pontiff, in his reply, insists, that it is an essential duty of his office, to interfere in all matters, which may affect the spiritual interest of the faithful, and that such are wars, and hostile invasions; that he assumes no undue rights, nor pretends to infringe the secular jurisdiction: but that he is the arbiter of peace and war. He wrote to the French bishops, enforcing the same maxims: "We pretend not," says he, "to trouble or to weaken the power of the monarch; nor should he oppose our jurisdiction. We do not call in question the feudal rights, which belong to his crown: but we pronounce on what is *sinful*, the correction of which, over all descriptions of men, appertains to the holy see." The bishops

BOOK supported their king, appealed to Rome, and
V. the controversy was suspended³³. — Under this
1203. broad pretext of impeding or chastising sin, an ecclesiastical tribunal was erected, which drew to itself the cognizance of almost every process, and absorbed the nearest interests of states.

Philip had projected the attack of Chateau Gaillard, the raising of which by the hand of Richard I mentioned, and now, to convince the pontiff and the nation, that he would not be controuled in his purposes, even when the altercation was warmest, he drew together his army and machines of war, and sat down before the proud fortrefs. Roger de Lacy commanded in it. The historians of the age have detailed the particulars of this memorable siege, which lasted for the long space of seven months. Wonderful exertions were made on both sides; but only one attempt was hazarded by John, to relieve the brave garrison. This failed of success, though conducted by the earl of Pembroke, a man of vigor and great capacity. The king then hastened to the shore, and sailed to England, leaving this bulwark of his Norman territories a prey to the determined efforts of his rival³⁴.

³³ Rigord. p. 46, 47. Inn. ep. 165. 167.

³⁴ Guil. Brito. l. 7. Annal. Waver.

Nor was it to retrieve his fame, that he appeared amongst his English subjects. He accused the barons of having deserted his person, whereby the enemy had been empowered to invade his dominions with success; and under this plea, he seized the seventh part of all their moveables. To the clergy also he extended the same imposition, though they had given occasion to no such complaint. And the primate, and Essex the justiciary, were the instruments of these extortions³⁵.

I have said, that another crusade had been formed, under the animating influence of Innocent; and as those engaged in it were principally the French and Flemish noblemen, who had espoused the English interest, the circumstance, whilst it was most unfavorable to John, enabled Philip to pursue his designs more confidently. The place of general rendezvous was Venice, to which, in the year 1202, a great army had resorted. They were commanded by Boniface, marquis of Montferrat, under whom were the earl of Flanders and many puissant barons. The earl of Flanders was Baldwin, the ninth of the name. But, instead of proceeding to the rescue of Palestine, they joined the Venetians, and sailed to Zara, a

1204.

The crusaders
erect a new
empire at
Constantino-
ple.

³⁵ Mat. Par.

BOOK
V.
1204.

town in Dalmatia, which the king of Hungary had lately taken from the republic. The pontiff opposed this expedition, as contrary to the vow of the crusaders, and threatened excommunication. His threats were disregarded, and Zara surrendered. Here the army wintered, and here the generals received a deputation from young Alexius, son to Isaac Angelo, emperor of Constantinople, whom his brother, named also Alexius, had, a few years before, dethroned and imprisoned. Would they restore the emperor to his throne, the prince offered to re-establish, over the eastern church, the jurisdiction of the Roman see, to pay to the crusaders two hundred thousand marks, and to supply their armies with provisions, and moreover to aid them in their conquest of Palestine. The treaty, after some opposition, was accepted. But here again, notwithstanding the first article, Innocent interfered, from an apprehension that, by the power and treachery of the Greeks, the army would be dissipated, and the primary object of their expedition be lost. Still the flattering prospect prevailed, and the allurements of the treaty; and by this time, the prince himself had joined the army. They sailed from Zara, and within two months, on the twenty-third of June, appeared within sight of Constantinople.

Alexius,

Alexius, seeing the armament approach, sent a nobleman to demand, what was the motive of their coming? If they wanted money or provisions, they should have both, provided they quitted his dominions; it would be at the peril of their lives, if they remained, or attempted any violence. — “Tell your master”, replied Conon de Bethune, in the name of the army, “that we
“are not in his territories; but in those of his
“nephew, who there sits before you. If he is
“disposed to restore the empire to him, we will
“entreat the prince to pardon the tyrant, and
“to permit him to live in splendor. But come
“no more here, unless to fulfil this condition.” —

Advancing then nearer to the city, they showed the prince to the people; but receiving no answer, instantly they landed, attacked the walls, and carried them by storm. Alexius fled: but the Greeks drew their dethroned emperor from prison, and seating him in his palace, announced the event to the victors. They demanded the ratification of the treaty, which had been made with his son; and this being complied with, the whole army entered Constantinople in triumph, conducting with them the prince who, a few days after, on the first of August, was also crowned emperor, in the church of St. Sophia. — Their next measure was to pacify the pontiff. The chiefs wrote to him,

B O O K pointing to the hand of providence which had led
V. them, they said, on their journey, the happy con-
1204. sequence of which would be the reunion of the
 churches. Of this also young Alexius assured his
 holiness. The answer of Innocent is wary and
 circumspect, intimating, that he was not to be
 deceived by professions, and that the event should
 prove the sincerity of Alexius, and justify the
 irregular conduct of the crusaders.

The face of things soon changed, Alexius, in
 possession of the throne, deemed himself secure,
 and began to treat his protectors with less respect,
 and to discontinue the contributions of money
 and provisions. They were not men to be insult-
 ed. The Greeks also, whom the conduct of their
 young emperor, in calling in the Latins, had
 justly irritated, meditated his downfall. Hostili-
 ties opened. Another Alexius was proclaimed em-
 peror by the people, and the reigning prince
 being seized, was massacred. Isaac did not long
 survive his son. — The Latin barons then assem-
 bled, and the delegates from Rome having pro-
 nounced, that it was lawful to wage war against
 a murderer, they unanimously resolved, for the
 honor of God and the prosperity of the church,
 boldly to attempt the conquest of the imperial
 throne of Byzantium; and they settled a treaty
 of partition, should their arms prove successful.

It was the month of March, in this year, when they again besieged the city. The usurper, with a large army, was within the walls; but he ignominiously retired, and Constantinople, within a few days, surrendered at discretion. Horrible was the scene which ensued; while the victors, with the sacred cross on their shoulders, committed every excess, which cruelty, avarice, lust could instigate. Even their religious notions gave an ardor to their rapacity. In the churches and monasteries of Constantinople, had been deposed a great collection of relics, drawn from the eastern countries. On these the superstitious Latins seized with avidity, some, indeed, to possess the rich coverings which contained them, and others, from a veneration to the things themselves. And this holy pillage it was, which, at this time, filled the west with an overflow of bodies, arms, heads, and other members, on which a misguided piety, could fasten with enthusiasm, not sensible how empty the devotion was, and how spurious, in general, were the objects of their veneration.

A pause from devastation, at length, ensued; when twelve electors were appointed, who chose Baldwin, earl of Flanders, emperor; and, on the seventeenth of May, he was solemnly crowned. Agreeably to their convention, a division was then

B O O K

V.

1204.

BOOK

V.

1204.

made of the territory, and the Venetians, and the marquis of Montferrat, and other chiefs, were invested with great possessions. Thus began the empire of the Latins at Constantinople, which lasted for more than fifty years. — Nor was it any longer difficult to prevail on Innocent, to approve this glorious achievement. The revolution was unexpected, and he resolved to strengthen it by his utmost exertions. From Palestine, now, and from every quarter of Europe, crowds hastened to Constantinople, to partake of the spoil, to join the victorious Franks, and to witness the fall of a proud and perfidious nation³⁶.

Normandy
and other
provinces
taken by
Philip.

The siege of Chateau Gaillard continued. But Philip, when he heard that the English king had left Normandy, sent to its governors and the barons of the neighbouring provinces, requesting to be received as their sovereign, since their immediate lord had deserted his station; otherwise, they must expect to feel the utmost vengeance of his arm. With great loyalty they rejected the proposal; but, hopeless of present succour, they agreed to offer hostages for a year's truce, after which, should no aid come, they would receive Philip, they promised, for their master, and resign their castles to him. — John

³⁶ Gest. in Villehard. Nicet. &c. ap. Murat. Fleury, &c.

was in England, and he had the audacity, meeting his nobles at Oxford, to demand from them an aid of two marks and a half, on every knight's fee. They granted it. The church also promised their contributions.

But news now came, that the brave de Lacy, defending the last stone of his castle, and in want of bread, had been taken prisoner, and that the fortress was in the hands of Philip. Messengers likewise, soon afterwards, arrived from the barons of Normandy, to implore assistance, as the year advanced, and the French king with a mighty force was prepared to invade their possessions. "They may act as they like best," replied the monarch, "from me no aid will come. — Philip entered Normandy. The castle of Falaise first surrendered, and then the towns of the lower province, while the Bretons co-operated with the arms of France; and, in a few weeks, Rouen also capitulated, and Arques, and Verneuil. By midsummer, the whole province did homage to the French king, two hundred and ninety years, after it had been dismembered from the monarchy. Its fate was now fixed for ever. — In this unexampled tide of victory, Philip did not relax. Maine submitted, and Touraine, and Poitou, and Anjou, a few castles only excepted, and la

B O O K Rochelle". — Immersed in pleasure, and satisfied, says a historian, with the possession of his queen, John remained unmoved. He had collected much treasure, and on this he relied for the recovery of his dominions, whenever it should be his will to distribute it. "By God's feet," said he laughing, "some English sterlings shall soon redress these evils". — Queen Eleanor, who long had witnessed the glory of the English name, and to the exaltation of which she had so largely contributed, now saw its decline, and died in anguish. She was in her eighty-second year.

1205.

The lethargy, for a moment, seemed to dissipate. In the spring of this year, John assembled a great army, announcing his intention to land in France; and a fleet attended him at Portsmouth. But the primate and others, from what motives is not said, opposed the design. Probably, they had been bribed by Philip, or acted even under a more base influence. The king therefore himself embarked with a small retinue; but, on the third day, he relanded on the same shore, furious, as it seemed, from reflection, and feigning disappointment. If his vassals, he pretended, could thus desert him, when a cause of such

¹⁷ Mat. Par. Guil. Brito, Annal. Waver.

¹⁸ Mat. West, an. 1204.

magnitude demanded their service, they should feel, at least, that he was sovereign: and on this pretence of disobedience to their lord, he exacted a heavy fine, from all orders in the state³⁹. To this measure, it may be presumed, his ministers had advised him. The nation could, as yet, submit. Had he presented himself in force on the Norman coast, a powerful diversion had been made in his favor by Guy de Touars, father to the infant dukes of Bretagne, whom the conquests of Philip justly alarmed. He had sufficiently revenged, he thought, the murder of Arthur; but alone he could not oppose the arms of France. Thus was Philip permitted, in unmolested security, to enjoy the happiest fruits of conquest, in giving stability to his measures, and bending, by gentle impressions, the stubborn minds of his Norman subjects, particularly, to a yoke which, they had, long professed to hold in detestation.

But in the summer of this year, John really led an army to the continent, which he landed at la Rochelle. The barons of Poitou were ready to join him; the country every-where submitted; and he advanced against the capital of Anjou. Angers was taken, and in it many prisoners.

1206.
A truce with
France.

³⁹ Mat. Par. an. 1205. Annal. de Marg. et Waver.

BOOK

V.

But when Philip approached, and a battle was expected; to the surprise of all men, John consented to a cessation of hostilities. This was followed by a truce for two years; when the weak and misguided monarch, leaving his enemy in possession of the provinces he deserved to rule, returned, loaded with new infamy, to meet the curses of an insulted nation *°.

1207.

As no opposition had hitherto thwarted his most oppressive schemes; he could proceed, he doubted not, to fresh extortions. At Oxford, where the nobles and prelates were assembled, he demanded the thirteenth part of their chattels. They murmured, says the historian, but dared not refuse; and the tax was levied on laity and clergy. The son of Rosamond only boldly withstood the measure, and secretly retiring from the country, denounced an anathema against the king's officers, who should collect the plunder, as he called it, in the diocese of York, or dare to lay hands on the possessions of the church, in any quarter of the realm *¹. He came no more to England.

*° Mat. Paris, an. 1206.

*¹ Ibid. Tho. Stubs, an. 1207. Annal. ut sup.

END OF THE SECOND VOLUME.

Berington, Joseph,

The History Of The Reign Of Henry The Second, And Of Richard and John, his
Sons With the Events of the Period, from 1154 to 1216. In which the
Character of Thomas A Becket is vindicated from the Attacks of George Lord
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